

THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. IV.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH, 1875.

No. 3.

CLOSE OF THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

At 12 o'clock, noon, March 4, 1875, the gavel of the presiding officer in the United States Senate, and of the Speaker in the House of Representatives, fell; each of these gentlemen made his usual parting address, and the Forty-third Congress of the United States passed into history.

And it has a history peculiarly its own. In each branch the majority was largely Republican. Among these, as well as on the Democratic side, there were probably as many men of ability and sterling worth as could have been found in any former Congress, while not a few of those occupying seats on either side were distinguished for unusual legislative capacity. It is a fair presumption that the average talent of the Congress just closed was fully up to the usual standard. Yet its achievements have not been such as to secure for it any considerable amount of popular favor. In fact, the first session was a failure so far as legislative results are concerned. Whatever may have been the cause of this, the dominant party in Congress was compelled to receive the blame, and the result was pronounced in the election returns that followed sharp upon the close of the session. The second session, just closed, has regained much of the confidence lost by the unprofitable legislation of the first. In fact, the closing weeks of the last session of the Forty-third Congress have been marked by a firm purpose on the part of the dominant party, and their efforts, against a bold and determined opposition, have resulted in the passage of measures of great importance in their direct bearing on

the future welfare of society and the general prosperity of the entire country.

In an impartial review of the Forty-third Congress, and its failures and achievements—and especially in counting up the aggregate results—it should be distinctly understood and admitted that it entered upon its duties at a peculiarly inauspicious period, and that very much, if not all, of the unpopularity that attaches to it results from causes over which it had little or no control. Mainly among these was the trying crisis in the general business of the country. When the industries of a country become unproductive; when machine and hand labor fail to command their usual remuneration; when artisans, operatives, mechanics, and laborers are dropped from the pay-rolls, and informed that their services are no longer required; when pinching poverty enters the family circle and refuses to depart; and when general distress prevails throughout the length and breadth of the land—as was the case with us when the Forty-third Congress entered upon its duties—then the people murmur. "There is something wrong somewhere; it must be in the Government and its laws; these defects must be remedied by Congress, and all will be well again." Such is the popular impression; and no matter how unfounded or unjust the conclusion may be, it is usually a most difficult task to remove the delusion from the public mind. Congress, in full sympathy with the popular clamor, went earnestly to work at the commencement of the first session to devise means of relief, while the only remedy was entirely outside of Federal leg-

isolation. For ninety days both houses toiled anxiously to drive "hard times" from the country. Something must be done, but no two members seemed to concur in opinion as to what that something should be. The currency, finances, greenbacks, and bonds were each, in turn, discussed, and finally, at the end of a three months' almost continuous debate, a bill was sent to the President, which, fortunately for the country, he vetoed.

All this time the direct cause of our distress was in the fact of a too rapid development and over-trading. For several years we had been building from six to seven thousand miles of railway per annum; and all large and even individual establishments had been expending on the same gigantic scale, until the industries of the country had become developed beyond the legitimate demand. The markets were surfeited with products in nearly every department of industry. The people had invested their funds in railway and other public and individual improvements. When pay-day came round the funds were all "locked up" in those improvements, and everybody was "short." The supply of goods being entirely beyond the legitimate demand, there were "no sales," and the borrower, unable to offer satisfactory security, was refused accommodation and had to "go under."

This was practically the condition of the country when the Forty-third Congress entered upon its first session, and was immediately called upon to remedy the evil from which the people, by their own imprudence, were suffering. Congress failed to put money in the people's pockets with which to pay their debts, so the Hebrew "murmurings" were repeated, and, like Moses, Congress was abused. A just appreciation of the situation would have shown Congress and the country that the remedy was not in legislation, but must come from individual effort, and a patient waiting until the inexorable law of supply and demand should again reach an equitable balance. Congress could not remedy the matter, and if not the censure heaped upon it was unjust and uncalled for. But it is only a repetition of history. In all general business disarrangements of a

nation which result in producing distress among the people, the Government is immediately charged by the popular mind as the cause, and the party in power is sure to suffer in its popularity in consequence.

The effect in the case under consideration was seen in the reversal of the majority in the lower house of Congress by the elections of last fall. The folly of that movement is now pretty generally admitted, and regretted by none more sincerely than those Republicans who, either by voting the Opposition ticket or failing to vote at all, rendered themselves directly instrumental in the result, and chargeable with its consequences, some of which are already being developed South and North.

The last acts of the Forty-third Congress—especially the passage of the civil rights bill, the river and harbor improvement bill, and the revenue bill—are worthy of all commendation. The civil rights bill will bring some of the old and ugly pro-slavery material to the surface; non-paying taverns and fourth-rate hotels will close up under the silly prejudice that forbids the extension of ordinary civility to the colored race; some personal conflicts and probably homicides will occur; but the law will have its benign effects, and in due season produce the good results anticipated in a popular realization of the law of equal justice to all men.

"If error has been committed by the army in these matters, it has always been on the side of the preservation of good order, the maintenance of law, and the protection of life. Their bearing reflects credit upon the soldiers, and if wrong has resulted, the blame is with the turbulent element surrounding them."—*Grant's message on Louisiana.*

"It may be proper for me to say that, to the extent that Congress has conferred power upon me to prevent it, neither Ku-klux Klans, White Leagues, nor any other association using arms and violence to execute their unlawful purposes, can be permitted in that way to govern any part of this country; nor can I see with indifference Union men or Republicans ostracised, persecuted, and murdered on account of their opinions as they now are in some localities."—*Grant's message on Louisiana.*

WORK OF THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, *February 10, 1875.*
THE OBSTACLE REMOVED.

The action of the House on Tuesday, the 2d inst., resulted in suspending the rules, by a vote of 181 Republicans to 90 of the Opposition, in order that the Committee on Rules might forthwith report an amendment or change intended to deprive the minority of the power to make dilatory motions on the consideration of important questions.

The following amendment was then reported and passed:

"Whenever a question is pending before the House the Speaker shall not entertain any motion of a dilatory character except one motion to adjourn and one motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn. But the previous question on the engrossment and third reading of any bill or joint resolution shall not be ordered during the first day of its consideration unless two-thirds of the members present should second the demand: *Provided*, That this rule shall not apply to House resolutions offered in the morning hour of Monday: *And provided further*, That it shall not apply to any proposition to appropriate the money, or credit, or property of the United States except the regular annual appropriation bills."

This disposes of the matter which has been so hotly contested by the Democrats, and gives the majority in the House relief from the disgraceful filibustering to which they have been subjected. They can now proceed with the civil rights bill and other pressing measures for the remainder of the session. Much hard work lies before them, and what they do must be done promptly; but little time remains. Let nothing be left to the chances of legislation in the Democratic House of the next Congress.

THE PRESENT STATUS.

In about three weeks the present Congress will expire by constitutional limit. The number of bills introduced thus far at this session is not far from six thousand. Of these there must be of necessity a large number remaining undisposed of. But taking those which will be passed with those which were passed at the last session, it may safely be said that no such amount of work has been

accomplished in the same time by any previous Congress. If, in addition to this, the number of investigations instituted by this Congress be considered, with the range of subjects and the points of distance from the seat of Government, the labor accomplished must be set down as simply herculean.

But since the reassembling on the 5th of January the three most prominent public acts which have passed either branch of Congress are the civil rights bill, the finance bill, and the little tariff bill. This delay of the general business is not due to any fault of the regular or special committees, all of whom have urged their measures upon the attention of Congress with great promptness and persistency. Of the appropriation bills two have been completed, one is delayed in conference, and nine are still uncompleted. These must all be passed before the 4th of March ensuing or an extra session of the next Congress may become a necessity. It has been proposed in the Republican caucus to vote an appropriation for the army covering two fiscal years instead of one. If this attempt should be made it may provoke such a resistance as to cause a failure of the bill altogether. The rules, however, have been so changed as greatly to facilitate the success of measures proposed by the majority. This change of the rules has given great offense to the Democrats, and Messrs. Cox and Randall have resigned their position on the Rules Committee of the House on this account. As every man of the Opposition is supposed to share their feeling it may be difficult for the Speaker to fill their places by the selection of men from the minority.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

At the last session the Sumner civil rights bill was, with some modification, passed by the Senate after the death of its distinguished author. It went to the House, where it has since been lying. Just now the House has passed a civil rights bill, of which the following is the text.

Whereas it is essential to just government we recognize the equality of all men before

the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nationality, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political, and it being the appropriate object of legislation to enact great principles into law; therefore,

Be it enacted, &c., That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. That any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons by law applicable to citizens of every race and color, and regardless of any previous condition of servitude, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in an action of debt, with full costs; and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or shall be imprisoned not less than thirty days nor more than one year: *Provided*, That all persons may elect to sue for the penalty aforesaid, or to proceed under their rights at common law and by State statutes; and having so elected to proceed in the one mode or the other, their right to proceed in the other jurisdiction shall be barred. But this proviso shall not apply to criminal proceedings, either under this act or the criminal law of any State: *And provided further*, That a judgment for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved, or for a judgment upon an indictment, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

SEC. 3. That the District and Circuit courts of the United States shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses against, and violations of, the provisions of this act; and actions for the penalty given by the preceding section may be prosecuted in the territorial, district, or circuit courts of the United States, wherever the defendant may be found, without regard to the other party. And the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, and commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with the powers of arresting and imprisoning or bailing offenders

against the laws of the United States, are hereby specially authorized and required to institute proceedings against every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States or territorial court as by law has cognizance of the offense, except in respect of the right of action accruing to persons aggrieved; and such district attorneys shall cause such proceedings to be prosecuted to their termination, as in other cases: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this section shall be construed to deny or defeat any right of civil action accruing to any person, whether by reason of this act or otherwise. And any district attorney who shall willfully fail to institute and prosecute the proceedings herein required shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by an action of debt, with full costs, and shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars: *And provided further*, That a judgment for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved against any such district attorney, or a judgment upon an indictment against any such district attorney, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

SEC. 4. That no citizen possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and any officer or other person charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors who shall exclude or fail to summon any citizen for the cause aforesaid shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined not more than five thousand dollars.

SEC. 5. That all cases arising under the provisions of this act in the courts of the United States shall be reviewable by the Supreme Court of the United States without regard to the sum in controversy, under the same provisions and regulations as are now provided by law for the review of other causes in said court.

As this bill has to pass the Senate, where "the previous question" is not resorted to, it may be obstructed by a long debate, and finally "talked to death." The chances are very ominous of defeat, but the Republican majority in the House have done what they could in this direction, and there is no reason to doubt that the Republican Senators will do their best to make it the law of the

land. But after that the President will have the responsibility. So we must put it down as exceedingly problematical, while we express the earnest hope that the subject may be satisfactorily concluded before the expiration of Congress.

THE LITTLE TARIFF BILL.

This is a measure to reimpose the duties upon certain articles of import for the purposes of revenue. It has been found that the public were not relieved at all by the remission of the tax on such articles as tea, coffee, and tobacco since the merchants themselves pocketed the difference. Prices were not lessened and the Government lost the revenue. The effect of this act will be to turn back this tide into the public treasury, which stands in need of replenishment.

OTHER IMPORTANT TOPICS.

The question of affairs in Louisiana remains in great obscurity. The special House Committee, now in New Orleans, will soon return, but the want of time may prevent any legislation whatever. The Arkansas case has been complicated by the report of the House committee which has just been made and by the special message of the President announcing his belief that Mr. Brooks was elected Governor in 1872. Many bills requiring special legislation must of necessity be passed over. The subject of transportation and the many measures which it involves will all be thrown over, nothing being done toward a solution but the making some appropriations for additional surveys. The Hennepin canal scheme, though regarded with considerable favor, has not developed sufficient strength to carry it through. Among the projects worked up by the lobby, the Texas Pacific and the Northern Pacific bills, the Choctaw claim, the cotton tax refund, the patent sewing machine extension, the Bayfield and St. Croix project, and all of the additional bounty bills, seem likely to fail, although a powerful effort will be made to tack on to some appropriation a clause in favor of the Texas Pacific railroad. Numerous other railroad bills must fall through.

STATES APPLYING FOR ADMISSION.

New Mexico and Colorado are applying for admission. The latter, which has been for

sometime before Congress, may possibly be admitted. Both of these bills have passed the House and are now lying in the Senate.

MORE REVENUE.

The Government calls for nearly forty millions of additional revenue, and a new bill for this purpose is now in course of preparation by the Committee of Ways and Means. This will be likely to defeat all preceding measures for the repeal of the stamp tax on checks, matches, &c. Reports have been made on several public measures, which can not receive the proper legislation in this Congress, such as bills to establish a national savings depository as a branch of the post office, to establish the Southern Transcontinental railway, to revise the salaries of United States judges, to appoint a commission of forestry, to reduce and fix the pay department of the army, to provide for the completion of the Washington Monument, to create the Territories of Oklahoma and Pembina, to grant general amnesty, to dispose of the old French spoliation claims, to arrange a system of postal and other telegraphs, to overhaul the civil service reform, to raise a commission for controlling steam and horse railroads in Washington, to regulate commerce by railroads among the several States, to give relief to owners and purchasers of lands sold for direct taxes in insurrectionary States, to propose various amendments to the Federal Constitution, and to devise legislation for two or three thousand other bills which the committees have not yet even acted upon. The Senate have occupied considerable time with the private calendar, but in the House very few private bills have been passed or can be passed at this session. Meanwhile two commercial treaties have been pending in the Senate, that of reciprocity with Canada which has just been defeated, and that of amity and commerce with the Hawaiian Islands, which will probably be confirmed.

Above all, the President is urging Congress not to leave him without some positive legislation concerning the Southern situation. The request is not only reasonable, but imperative. The Executive has surely borne the responsibility of dealing with these huge

difficulties long enough. It belongs to Congress now to relieve him, otherwise there must be an aggravation of trouble, the end of which no man can foresee. Never was there a time in the history of the country when a greater burden was rolled upon the legislative branch of the Government, and when there was more need of prompt, wise, vigorous, and decisive action. There is no occasion for wasting words. There is not a moment to be lost. Action, and not long debate, is the essential thing. Measures direct, simple, and intelligible should now be brought forward, and all attempts to waste the remaining days of the session should be frowned down. The country demands legislative work, not buncombe speeches and the small policies of a scheming selfishness.

WASHINGTON, *March 4, 1875.*

DISPATCH OF BUSINESS.

Since the change of the rules in the House the majority in that body have been able to carry forward the work of legislation without much obstruction from the filibustering propensities of the Democratic side. Up to that time it had been exceedingly doubtful whether the legitimate business could be accomplished within the period of the session. The strain upon the two branches of Congress during the last twenty days has been severe. Several all night sessions have been held, and the attention of Congress has been chiefly engrossed in the appropriation bills for the next fiscal year. The deficiency, the river and harbor, and the diplomatic bills were pushed through in the last hours of the session. By accommodations and committees of conference the principal work of legislation has at last succeeded. Immense sums of money have thus been voted, the entire amount of which can not be fully stated at present.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

The civil rights bill with the school question eliminated has finally become a law, having received the signature of the President March 1st, 1875. It remains to be seen what effect it will have on the country both practically and politically. Undoubtedly it is most unpopular with a certain portion of the people, but so has every step and stage

of the legislation in favor of the colored people been denounced from the beginning. This is all that can be done by any party in Congress for the security of the rights and privileges of the black man as a citizen of this Republic. The rest he must do for himself, and it will depend greatly on his wisdom and discretion in the future whether this last legislation shall prove a blessing to him.

THE BILL TO PROTECT ELECTORS.

This measure, which provides that in the four States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, the President may suspend the writ of habeas corpus in case of disturbance or insurrection, was passed in the House a few days before the close of the session; but it was lost in the Senate for want of time, and will probably never again be taken up, certainly not in the next Congress. It is a measure conferring very high Executive power, and will very likely be denounced in the coming political campaigns. It will depend on the development of events in the South whether such a proposition will receive the approval of the majority of the loyal people of the country.

THE REVENUE.

A measure looking to an increase of taxation to the amount of twenty or thirty millions above the present aggregate, taxing whiskey, tobacco, and other luxuries, and making some changes in the recent tariff rates, has finally become a law. This has been strongly opposed by the parties representing the various interests to be thus affected. It is a subject which was much discussed during the session, and is attended with all the perplexities that inhere in the nature of the subject. But it seemed absolutely necessary to find some means for increasing the revenue, that the country may be able to meet current expenses, pay just claims, and the interest accruing on the public debt.

DISTRICT MATTERS.

Senator Morrill's bill for the government of the District, which is by far the best that has yet been presented, could not get a hearing for final action. It is, therefore, just as well for the present that no bill should pass at the session just closed, but that the provisional government should be continued

until the meeting of the next Congress. The District tax bill, fixing the rate at \$1.50 on the hundred of personal and real property, and exempting churches and the property of charitable institutions, and household furniture to the value of \$500, was finally passed, and received the approval of the President. While the sums appropriated for various purposes in the District for the coming year are large in the aggregate, they are considerably cut down from the former figure. The Board of Audit has been continued, and the ascertained debt of the District already exceeds the sum of twenty-six millions. This turns out to be a sum far greater than the friends of the late territorial government had hoped to see.

PACIFIC MAIL SUBSIDY.

The investigation into the enormous sums of money expended in getting through the subsidy, and the chicanery and fraud developed, have implicated, to a very alarming extent, not only officers of Congress and members of the next House of Representatives, but also the newspaper men who have raised so loud an outcry over the alleged corruptions of Congressmen, and this Congress has very wisely withdrawn the balance of subsidy, amounting to some three or four millions. Perhaps it is a good thing that these investigations have been set on foot by the very men, some of whom have thus been exposed. It will teach Congress and the country how to deal in the future with those who come about the halls of legislation to promote their dishonest schemes by the power of money and a hireling press.

DEATH OF SENATOR BUCKINGHAM AND REPRESENTATIVE HOOPER.

During the present session one Senator and one Representative have passed away. Both were highly esteemed by their associates, and both are lamented by a large number of surviving friends. They had rendered signal service in their day, and were men whose private and public character was without reproach.

THE LOBBY.

The Third House during the recent session, though replete with men and all the appliances of their nefarious business, has fared

but poorly. They have not been able to effect much in the way of lobbying vast projects through Congress. The hue and cry of the past few years against the members of Congress for bribery and corruption has killed the goose that laid the golden egg, and it is to be hoped that in the future no Congress will listen to these countless projects for plundering the public treasury.

MULTITUDES OF SUBJECTS LEFT OVER.

It is remarkable that many of the most important interests have been passed over with scarcely a passing notice—the transportation question, the construction of public buildings, internal improvement, the solution of Southern difficulties, the admission of members and Senators to their seats, the consideration of the questions presented by the Southern investigating committees in Arkansas, Louisiana, and other rebel States, and a great variety of subjects which lie unfinished in the hands of the committees and on the tables of the legislative halls.

NEW STATE OF COLORADO.

One new State has been admitted during the late session of Congress—thus giving seventy-six Senators as the full number in the next Congress. So the family of States increases, while the extent of the public domain is opened up and the tide of population pours westward to the Pacific. It is an inspiring spectacle, realizing the familiar and oft-repeated line: "Westward the star of empire takes its way."

SOLDIERS' BOUNTY BILL LOST.

Unfortunately in the hurry of the last hour of the session the bill for the equalization of soldiers' bounties was lost through a mere misapprehension of parliamentary routine. It passed the House and went to the Senate and was passed by the Senate with an amendment, when it was returned to the House with a request for concurrence in the Senate amendment. The House refused to concur and requested a committee of conference on the part of the two houses, which was granted by the Senate. The conference committee reported it back with a recommendation that the House recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment. The House adopted this report, and the Senate laid it on the ta-

ble. In the mean time the clerks enrolled the bill on the supposition that the report would be adopted by the Senate, as the House had yielded all the points of disagreement, and it was signed by the Speaker and the Vice President, overlooking, in the hurry of the closing hours of Congress, the disposition made of the report by the Senate.

Had the House simply receded from its disagreement to the Senate amendment that would have passed the bill without any further action of the Senate. But the adoption of the report of the committee was incomplete until concurred in by both houses. Senator Logan erred in his statement in the Senate that the House had simply receded from its disagreement to the Senate amendment. Had the Senator's information been reliable his conclusion would have been correct. But, unfortunately for the soldiers, he was misinformed. It was, therefore, impossible for the President to give effect to the bill by his signature. The President was, moreover, advised by the Attorney General that the bill was defeated by the action of the Senate in not adopting the report of the conference committee, and that it was not legally before him for his consideration.

CLOSING SCENES.

On Thursday, March 4th, both branches of Congress having been in continuous session for twenty hours, were found still in full tide of operation as the expiring hour approached. The galleries were full of eager spectators. The corridors were thronged with people who were looking after one interest or another. Some just rejoicing over their success, others turning away with bitter disappointment. The President and his Cabinet and other executive officers were present in the Capitol during the night, and all the usual scenes of haste and confusion sped in rapid succession before the vision of the observer. Each hall was strewn with fragments of paper. Members were rising and claiming recognition; hurried words were spoken from man to man; officials were moving from point to point to improve the time whose sands were rapidly running out. At length the hour of 12 meridian was struck, and with a few

parting words from Vice President Wilson in the Senate and from Speaker Blaine in the House, with the usual resolutions of thanks and courtesy, and the farewells of members, the Forty-third Congress was no more.

Its work is done, and will pass into the history of the country to be judged hereafter of what sort it is. We forbear further comment. The questions of public policy with which it has had to deal have been of the most difficult and complicated nature. In the vicissitudes of the times the Republican party has been shorn of its colossal strength. But let us hope that it may soon come forth as from a furnace, tried and purified, and better fitted than before to take and wield the Federal power for the good of all the people.

NATIONAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SECTIONS.—

The idea inculcated by some Western politicians that the great bulk of the national money laid out on internal improvements has been expended at and for the benefit of the East, is very far from being correct. From the adoption of the Constitution to June, 1873, the sum of \$32,680,340 was expended for the improvement of rivers and harbors. The Western rivers secured \$11,438,300; the Northern lakes \$10,437,158, and the Atlantic coast \$9,587,173. This shows a pretty even division and no cause for complaint. The nearly twenty-six millions, also, which have been laid out on Washington city, were for the whole country. In the matter of marine hospitals and light-houses, it will surprise most persons to learn that the largest sum expended in any one State has gone to Michigan, and the next to Louisiana—the former being \$1,879,380, and the latter \$1,603,543. Louisiana, also, stands second in the list for the sums expended for custom-houses, court-houses, and post offices; having taken therefor \$3,806,678. Even South Carolina, so jealous, under its old *regime*, of Federal interference, stands fourth in the list. The business importance and the revenues of these States contrast singularly with several of those of the Northeast which have had less money from the Treasury.

ACTS OF THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

The following is a list of the principal acts passed at the second session of the Forty-third Congress :

Filling an existing vacancy in the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

Relating to the disposition of certain lands to be reclaimed in sections 14, 23, and 26, in township 16 north, of range 20, in Sheboygan county, Wisconsin.

For the authentication of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and for preserving the originals of all laws in the Department of State.

For the relief of certain settlers on the public lands.

Suspending so much of an act entitled "An act organizing the several staff corps of the army," approved June 23, 1874, as applies to contract surgeons.

Creating the Dalles land district in Oregon.

Explanatory of the resolution entitled "A resolution for the relief of settlers upon the absentee Shawnee lands in Kansas," approved April 7, 1869.

For the resumption of specie payments.

To compensate the officers of the Government for observing the transit of Venus.

Declaratory of an act entitled "An act to amend the customs revenue laws, and to repeal moieties," approved June 22, 1874.

Confirming an agreement made with the Shoshone Indians (eastern band) for the purchase of the south part of their reservation in Wyoming Territory.

Making an appropriation to enable the Postmaster General to purchase scales for post offices.

Authorizing the Commissioner of Agriculture to make a special distribution of seeds to sufferers by grasshoppers.

For the relief of certain officers of the navy who were dropped, furloughed, or retired, under the act of February 28, 1858.

Constituting Patchogue, New York, a port of delivery.

Authorizing the Commissioner of the General Land Office to grant a patent for certain lands in Arizona.

Making an appropriation for continuing work on the St. Louis post office.

Providing for the distribution of the Revised Statutes.

For the protection of the United States custom-house in Louisville, Ky.

Authorizing the Seneca nation of New York Indians to lease lands within the Cattaraugus and Allegany reservations, and to confirm existing leases.

Amending section 5240 of the Revised Statutes in relation to the compensation of national bank examiners.

Authorizing the President to appoint a commissioner to attend the international penitentiary congress at Rome.

Authorizing Thomas W. Fitch, U. S. N., to accept a present to his wife, Mrs. Minnie Sherman Fitch.

To increase the revenues of the Government.

Appointing managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

Providing for settlements with certain railway companies.

To protect all persons in their civil and legal rights.

To authorize the promulgation of the general regulations for the government of the army.

Fixing the number of paymasters in the United States army.

Authorizing the acceptance by Captain C. H. Wells, U. S. N., of the Cross of the Legion of Honor from the President of France.

Explanatory of the act fixing the number of paymasters in the United States army.

Enabling the people of Colorado to form a State Government.

Relating to the punishment of the crime of manslaughter.

Transferring Perry county, Tenn., from the Western to the Middle judicial district of the United States in said State.

Restricting the refunding of customs duties, and prescribing certain regulations of the Treasury Department.

To provide for deducting any debt due the United States from any judgment recovered against the United States by such debtor.

Amending section 2324 of the Revised Statutes relating to developing the mining resources of the United States.

To incorporate the Inland and Seaboard Coasting Company of the District of Columbia.

To provide for the construction of military roads in Arizona.

For the relief of settlers on lands within railroad limits.

Granting pensions to the widows, children, dependent mothers and fathers, or orphan brothers and sisters of those soldiers who were murdered by guerrillas at Centralia, Mo., in 1864.

For the further security of navigation on the Mississippi river.

To provide for deductions from terms of sentence of United States prisoners.

Determining the jurisdiction of Circuit

Courts of the United States and to regulate the removal of causes from State courts, and for other purposes.

Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver condemned cannon to the Joseph Warren Monument Association, of Boston.

Incorporating the trustees of Louise Home. Amending the act incorporating the Masonic Mutual Relief Association of the District of Columbia.

Amending the act incorporating the Medical Association of the District of Columbia.

Relating to a site for a public building at Jersey City, N. J.

Amending the act authorizing the construction of a bridge over the Mississippi river at St. Louis.

For the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, in Wisconsin.

Relative to the material to be used in a public building in Atlanta, Ga.

Appropriations for the payment of claims allowed by the Commissioners of Claims.

To punish certain larcenies and the receivers of stolen goods.

Supplementary to the act in relation to immigration.

Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remit certain taxes claimed to be due from certain mining corporations.

Authorizing the Commissioner of Patents to extend the patent of Frederick T. Grant on sliver machines.

Setting apart a portion of the island of Mackinac as a national park.

Purchasing a site for a public building at Topeka, Kan.

Granting the right of way to railways through the public lands.

Authorizing the coinage of a twenty-cent silver piece.

To protect trees on public reservations.

Granting the right of way to the Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Mobile railroad.

Establishing a boundary line between Arkansas and the Indian country.

For the better government of the navy.

Donating a portion of Fort Brady military reservation to school purposes.

Relative to the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company.

Annexing certain land to the Department of Agriculture.

Relating to the marine hospital service.

For the relief of the Alleghany Valley Railroad Company.

Appropriating money for a public building at Covington, Ky.

Donating a public building to the State of Oregon.

For the relief of the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad Company.

Relative to the Free Young Men's Association, city of Washington.

For a pontoon bridge at Dubuque, Iowa.

Relative to affixing stamps on beer casks.

Extending the time for presenting claims to the board of audit, District of Columbia.

For a public building at Harrisburg, Pa.

Relative to certain property at Tunis occupied by the United States consul.

For the republication of the *Patent Office Gazette*.

Amending sections 1,675, 1,676, 1,682, of the Revised Statutes.

Abolishing the consulate at Amoor river, and establishing a consulate at Vladivostok, Russia.

APPROPRIATION BILLS.

For the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments of the Government, for the year ending June 30, 1876:

For the army.

For the navy.

For the Post Office.

For the Indian.

For the diplomatic and consular service.

For fortifications.

For the Military Academy.

For invalid pensions.

For sundry civil expenses.

For deficiencies.

For river and harbor.

THE NEW SENATE.—There is still one vacancy in the Senatorial delegation from Louisiana. Leaving this out of the account, the political classification of the next Senate would appear to stand thus: Republicans, 43; Democrats, 28; Liberals, 2. The present Senate, when it met in December, was divided into fifty Republicans, nineteen Democrats, and four Liberals, with one vacancy. Though the Republican majority has been thus cut down, it will probably answer all purposes in the next Senate, as it will amount to thirteen over the Democratic and Liberal forces combined. It is true, the failure of seven reckoned in the Republican ranks would transfer the power to the other side and range the Senate with the Democratic House. It is true, also, that four or five Republicans, like Ferry of Connecticut, Cameron of Wisconsin, and Christianity of Michigan, have been elected by the aid of Democratic votes; but there is no reason whatever to distrust their thorough going Republican character. The two Liberals, Booth of California, and Hamilton of Texas, are likely to vote oftener with the Republicans than with the Democrats. The Senate and the President, therefore, may be counted upon to act substantially in unison.

LOUISIANA AFFAIRS—REPORT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

It will be remembered that early in the late session of Congress a sub-committee of three members of the Committee on Louisiana Affairs went to New Orleans to investigate and report upon the political condition of the State. The work, if properly executed, it may well be supposed, would have been an arduous one. The sub-committee, however, made it light and pleasant by spending an important portion of the few days of their limited time in steamboat excursions on the Mississippi, under the auspices and *very* kind attentions of the high-toned rebel element of Louisiana. They were shown the fine cotton plantations, the fertile sugar-cane fields, and the beautiful orange-tree groves, then in bud and blossom, with their golden fruit bearing down the branches, all of which was very pleasant, but not to the point, so far as their mission and duty to Congress and their country were concerned. They returned home with a report superficial in its character and thoroughly partisan in its deductions. It was prepared in the interests of the Democratic White League element of the South, and for electioneering purposes in the North. In short, the report was not truthful; and in view of this fact the chairman and the other members of the committee went immediately to Louisiana and made an impartial investigation. It is to be regretted that the fact of Congress drawing near the close of its session compelled the return of the committee before they had sufficient time to make the investigation as thorough as was desirable. Yet every hour of their limited time was devoted to the work, and the result is a candid and evidently an impartial report, made with an honest and sincere desire to find and present to Congress and the people the truth as it is. We have room for a synopsis only of this report.

The first part is a narrative of affairs in that State from the close of the war up to the events of last September, and it is introduced as necessary to a complete understanding of the whole case. It shows that

the condition of political affairs in that State is the natural sequence of the state of society that existed under the rule of the slave power. It does not excuse, but explains. The report shows that, while there was intimidation practiced on the day of election, the events preceding that day had terrified the negroes and voters, and probably changed the result of the election. The summary of this branch of the report is in the following words:

We cannot doubt that the effect of all these things was to prevent a full, free election, and to intimidate the colored voters and the white Republicans. The very formation of a White Man's party was a menace of terrible import to those who remembered Colfax and Bosier and the Convention. The press was filled with threats of violence. The agreement to discharge laborers—the suggestions that wild beasts are tamed by hunger—was evidence of the same spirit. The overthrow of the State government by the White League on the 14th of September; the turning out of large numbers of parish officers in the country, compelling them to fly for their lives; the fearful lesson of Coushatta; the formation, array, and drilling of the White League, the natural successors of the Knights of the White Camelia—these things, in a community where there is no legal punishment for political murders, must, in the nature of things, have filled with terror a people timid and gentle like the colored population of Louisiana, even if we had not taken abundant evidence as to special acts of violence and crime, and their effects on particular neighborhoods. Mr. Moncure, the Conservative candidate for State treasurer, claims a majority in the whole State of about 5,000. A far greater number of Republicans than enough to overcome this majority must have been prevented from registration or driven by terror from the polls.

In view of these facts, we do not hesitate to find that the election of 1874 was neither full, free, nor fair; that in large portions of the State the usual means of instructing and persuading the people, of organizing and conducting a campaign, could not be carried on by Republicans without danger to their lives, and that many more voters than were needed to give the Republican party a complete victory were prevented from voting at all, or even coerced into voting the white man's ticket.

The final conclusions and resolutions of the report are as follows :

On the whole case we are of opinion—

First. That there has been and is on the part of the party calling themselves "The White Man's party in Louisiana," a purpose to take possession by force and fraud of the State government, without regard to the question of who may have the numerical majority at a fair election.

Second. That in the execution of this purpose they have refrained and will refrain from the use of no instruments which are designed to accomplish it, whether those instruments be murder, fraud, civil war, or coercion of laborers by employers.

Third. While there are many men in their party of more moderate views who do not themselves use nor approve these unlawful means, such men desire the accomplishment of the same end, and are powerless to restrain their more violent associates.

Fourth. Three causes have made it easier to unite so large a number of whites of Louisiana in this purpose, and have rendered it more difficult to unite the best men among them in opposition: The fact that the Administration party of Louisiana is made up by massing together almost the whole negro vote, with a few whites, largely from other States; the fact that there has been great maladministration by Republican officials; the belief honestly entertained by large numbers of the white people of Louisiana that they have been twice defrauded of the result of elections in which they had been successful.

Fifth. While all these things are great evils, much to be deplored, and likely to exasperate any people, the course of the whites themselves has tended to bring them about and inflame them. The simple and peaceful remedies of obedience to law, argument, and decent treatment for their opponents, would, if they had pursued them, have proved effectual long ago.

Sixth. While we believe Gov. Kellogg to have received a majority of the votes in 1872, and while we believe there was violence and fraud which frustrated the will of the people in many of the parishes in 1874, the illegal order of Judge Durell, and the illegal conduct of the Returning Board in attempting to cure one wrong by another, naturally inflamed the popular discontent, and lent plausibility to the complaints.

Seventh. There has been indisputably much corruption in State and local administration in Louisiana. For this the Republicans, especially under Warmoth's rule, are largely responsible, although in numerous instances their opponents have been equally to blame.

Eighth. The effect of all this has been to put an end to the authority of law in a large portion of Louisiana, to deprive the negro of

his freedom of suffrage, and wholly to destroy the value of the methods provided by law for securing fairness at elections and ascertaining their results. This state of things overthrows republican government in Louisiana and seriously menaces the whole country.

Ninth. A new election held at this time under national authority is not desirable; it is not wished for by either side, and would inflame and augment the evils now existing.

Tenth. It is the duty of Congress to use such powers as are vested in it by the Constitution; it should recognize the lawful Governor of Louisiana by express resolution. We think William Pitt Kellogg the choice of the majority of the voters of Louisiana, and that he should be recognized accordingly. Congress should provide further safeguards for holding elections and ascertaining the result, if any can be devised.

Eleventh. But these remedies are at the best temporary and superficial, curing the symptoms and not the disease. Efficient aid to the State to establish public education would have gone far to prevent the evil, and may yet do much to effect a cure. The public sentiment of the rest of the country, without distinction of party, may do much to remove, as it has already unfortunately done much to aggravate, the evils in Louisiana. That people should understand that all the authority lodged in the General Government to preserve republican government and to protect the rights of all its citizens will be kindly but fearlessly and steadily exerted, and that no party in this country will accept the alliance of men who are seeking power by such methods as we have been compelled to describe. Unless this can be done the free institutions of the whole United States will not long survive the destruction of those in the South.

Whereas both branches of the Legislature of Louisiana have requested the special committee of this House to investigate the circumstances attending the election and returns thereof in that State for the year 1874, and whereas said committee have unanimously reported that the Returning Board of that State, in canvassing and compiling said returns and promulgating the result, wrongfully applied an erroneous rule of law, by reason of which persons were awarded seats in the House of Representatives to which they were not entitled, and persons entitled to seats were deprived of them:

Resolved, That it is recommended to the House of Representatives of Louisiana to take the necessary steps to remedy the great injustice, and to place the persons rightfully entitled in their seats.

Resolved, That William Pitt Kellogg be recognized as the Governor of the State of Louisiana until the end of the term of office fixed by the constitution of that State.

NOTES ON TRANSPORTATION.

ALTHOUGH the gross income from all the canals of the State of New York for the last fiscal year was less than that of the preceding year, the exhibit of the income and expenses shows a most gratifying result. The gross receipts for the last year were \$2,921,721 74; for the year 1873 they were \$3,021,527 78, being a decrease or a deficiency for 1874, as compared with 1873, of \$99,806 04; but the income in excess of all disbursements for the past year is \$225,364 44, while for the year 1873, the disbursements exceeded the income by \$176,023 99, showing an actual increase in the revenue from this source for the past fiscal year over that of 1873, of 404,388 53. There is no reason to doubt that the canals will continue to be the source of increased and increasing revenues to the State, if the expenses of superintendence and repairs are kept within reasonable and proper limits. The great drain on the revenue has been the expense of maintaining what are known as the lateral canals. The question has been mooted whether these canals ought not to be leased, sold, or abandoned, but hitherto the Legislature has had no discretion upon the subject. The old constitution provided that they should remain the property of the State, and under its management and control forever. The constitution, as amended, applies that restriction only of the Erie, the Oswego, the Champlain, and the Cayuga and Seneca canals, and leaves with the Legislature the power to sell, lease, or abandon any or all of the others.

It is by no means certain that it would be good policy or sound wisdom to sell or abandon any of these canals. While such a course would relieve the State from the burden of large outlays, for which there is no direct return, it would, on the other hand, interrupt or close channels of communication valuable to considerable sections, and might further injure industries which enter into our general prosperity. These diverse considerations present a question of grave importance, which it is for the Legislature to

determine. It is apparent, however, that if the State does dispose of laterals, and is not subjected to any expense on account thereof, the canals named in the new constitution will yield a very large net revenue. Looking only to the maintenance of the canal system and the extinguishment of the canal debt, such a result would greatly simplify the problem.

The State did not construct her great artificial water-ways with the view of making them a source of profit, but rather with a statesmanlike perception of the importance of affording a needed outlet to the produce of the West, and of promoting her own commercial growth. But the people did contemplate that they should not be a tax upon the State, and that the debt incurred in their construction, as well as the cost of their maintenance, should be paid from their revenues. The attainment of this result, which, while at the same time wisely fostering our commerce and reducing the public burden, seems practicably at no distant day, would permit the still further reduction of tolls to the point where they would yield only sufficient to pay the expenses of superintendence and repairs, and the canals of the State would become substantially free for the vast commerce which seeks a transit from the fields of the West to tide-water. In this connection another factor of the problem rises into importance. It has been demonstrated, I think with reasonable certainty, that steam can be successfully and economically used as the motive power for boats on the canals. The reduction of the time of transit to one-half, or less, and the reduction of cost in an almost proportionate degree, will put a new face upon the whole subject of canal navigation. It promises to be the most valuable and fruitful agency yet found to preserve and increase our carrying trade.

The general adoption of steam power will demand that the canals shall be improved and bottomed out, and in our action with reference to the future, this necessity should be borne in mind. With the cost and

time of carrying greatly diminished through this more efficient motor, with the debt extinguished and its exactions removed at an early day, and with the tolls reduced to the mere requirement of actual running expenses, there will be no mode of transportation, for bulky freight especially, that can successfully compete with our canals.

As bearing upon the question of the abandonment of the lateral canals, the following statement is given, showing the aggregate income and expense of each of the canals for the three years last past:

Canals.	Income in 1872, 1873, and 1874.	Disbursements in 1872, 1873, and 1874.
Erie.....	\$8,143,536 21	\$5,079,066 30
Champlain.....	427,765 68	1,739,857 73
Oswego.....	249,344 29	669,787 65
Cayuga and Seneca.....	59,675 16	156,101 89
Chemung.....	10,699 63	212,903 51
Chenango.....	14,416 18	588,910 84
Black River.....	32,417 68	294,716 42
Genesee Valley*.....	61,583 58	464,314 66

* Report of the Comptroller.

A PROSPEROUS STATE—GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

—No more remarkable message has been sent to the Legislature of any of our States at its opening session than the message which Governor John J. Bagley has sent to the Legislature of Michigan. It is remarkable in many ways: for its strong, clear, idiomatic English, which says what the writer means, in words which cannot be mistaken; for its practical character, dealing with business, and letting sentiment and disquisition severally alone; for its attention to the affairs of the State, and its utter disregard of national politics and the affairs of other States. Governor Bagley has not thought it to be his duty to deplore the condition of things in Mississippi or Arkansas, to protest against Federal usurpation in Louisiana, or to criticise the doings of the President and the National Congress. He does not announce any new scheme of finance, or any sovereign remedy for the public distress or the public corruption. He simply tells the people of Michigan, from the figures which cannot lie, and from his own observation of their public institutions and charities, where they stand as a State, what they have done, and what

they need to do. He tells them squarely what they ought to appropriate, and makes no apology for his demand.

The requests are moderate, and the exhibition is encouraging. Here is a State which did more than its duty in the time of war, sent more than its quota of soldiers, provided for them liberally, kept alive and increased the efficiency of all its charities, schools and asylums, and yet, with low taxation, with burdens scarcely felt by the people, with no visible suffering, has not only steadily enlarged its wealth and resources, in far greater ratio than even its large increase in numbers, but has also steadily *diminished its debt*; so that now the whole State debt, on which interest must be paid, amounts to little more than a million and a half of dollars—a mere fraction of what was stolen from the city of New York by Tweed and his gang! This in ten years from the close of the war! By a simple calculation, from trustworthy data, the Governor is able to prove that in 1883 (leaving out a single loan of \$366,000, not due until 1890) the whole of the State debt will be paid off, with a balance of at least \$166,000 in the treasury! And this with no reduction of appropriations to the university or the schools, or the prisons, or the asylums! What other State can match this report of economy and thrift? And with this, too, there is the plan for *reduced taxation*! How exasperating such a statement to the people of our Eastern States, who hear the annual tale of debt increasing and more taxation!—*Christian Register*.

The State of New York shows a like gratifying condition of its finances in the following extract from the Comptroller's report:

The State debt on the 30th September, 1873, after deducting the unapplied balances of the sinking funds, amounted to \$21,141,379 34
On the 30th September, 1874,
to 17,491,800 32

The contributions to the Sinking Funds during the year being \$3,649,570 02
While the actual reduction of the debt by cancellation is... \$6,024,950 00

New York State also will soon be out of debt.

THE AIM OF THE SOUTHERN CONSPIRATORS.—

All this is not hate or madness without a method—it has, says the *Albany Evening Journal*, a deep and far-reaching design. It aims first of all at the control of every Southern State. On a fair and free vote, several of those States are Republican. South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas have an undoubted Republican majority. To wrest them from their hands intimidation is necessary. With the mastery of every Southern State, the rebel element has two possibilities. In the first place, it may enforce its local policy; and, in the second place, it only needs fifty electoral voters from the entire North and West to capture the General Government. With the success of the former plan, it will reduce the blacks to practical peonage—with the success of the latter plan it will bring forward every imaginable claim. Already in several Southern States schemes have been proposed with the design of shutting out the blacks from the ballot-box and placing them under the heels of their old masters. Then again the rebel element of Arkansas has just adopted a new constitution. In the constitution of 1868 there was a prohibition of secession. In the constitution of 1874 this prohibition is struck out. Why?

The country still misconceives very much of what it sees at the South. Take the "banditti" dispatch of Sheridan. He simply used language which Washington himself used. But, whether justified or not, the country has never understood its purpose. Sheridan had no thought that the plan of military commission he suggested would be adopted. The dispatch was not designed for a report to Washington or for the information of the country, but for immediate effect in New Orleans. It was, as President Grant describes it, simply a piece of strategy. All New Orleans was in a ferment. It was the day after the *coup d'état* in the Legislature. The city was a powder magazine, where a spark would produce an explosion. Something was needed to strike and subdue the inflammatory populace, and Sheridan, with a soldier's keen eye, wrote his dispatch. Its object was shown by the fact that he sent it, first of all, to the New Orleans papers. It had its effect and he was right.

THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC APPEAL.—

This document, in which, reversing the customary order, a body of public servants undertake to instruct and influence their constituents, reads very fairly upon a casual glance, but what does it mean? It means, says the *Boston Journal*, first, that there is reason enough for such an appeal. The good boys of the household are never lectured, warned, and entreated, especially before others, to behave themselves properly. It is the other kind who are thus dealt with—those whose evil conduct has been felt in the past, and is feared in the future. These Congressional affectionate beseechings imply, then, that every white man at the South has not "regarded himself as a commissioner of peace," has not been "maintaining the kindest relations toward the black man," and that the latter thus far has not been "fully protected in his guaranteed rights to vote as he pleases in all elections." Otherwise, why adopt this extraordinary method for promoting an object which is supposed to need no such solicitude? For, secondly, these intelligent Southern men, like Gordon of Georgia, Beck of Kentucky, Lamar of Mississippi, and the rest, know well enough that the people of the North are not misled in this matter by "street disturbances" and the usual order of homicides. Was the White League uprising in New Orleans a mere street disturbance? Was the Coushatta massacre one of those affairs "such as are incident to every community upon earth?" These men know that the North knows better, and so they stand trembling in their shoes lest the patriotic and fraternal assurances they are giving to the country through their speeches may be contradicted by their constituents at any moment, breaking forth in such demonstrations of violence against the colored people and against the Government as have already aroused the public indignation. And, thirdly, the stress of their nervousness is seen in this fact, namely, that while they know that this appeal will be generally regarded as issued merely for political purposes, and as confirming the charges of misconduct at the South, yet they feel that just now Southern lawlessness must be stopped at all hazards, or there will be no chance of electing a Democratic President in 1876, and so they take all the risks of their unique proceeding. It is thus that this appeal will be read between the lines by the American people, and instruction will be got from it which many of its signers never intended.

IS IT A NEW REBELLION THEY ARE BREWING?
—From a private letter received in Washington the following extract will be appreciated when we state that the sentiments are those of a distinguished Union general of high rank during the late war. He has traveled extensively over the country and has become convinced that the war is not over yet, that the enemy will not stay whipped, but will prepare to renew the fight just as soon as the Democratic party attains possession of the Government again. Hear him:

"I think we are going to have war! How does that assertion strike you? Good, easy men would smile at it. Honest, earnest men would exclaim, we hope not. Democrats and rebels would cry out with a loud voice, what a d—d fool. Nevertheless it is true. Listen. When a rebel mob with fixed bayonets march upon a State capital and seize by force of arms the power for which they themselves are hungering, and when the swift suppression of the rebellion by the Government is denounced by the Democratic press as a high-handed outrage, and when this same mob violence is characterized by these same allies of rebellion as patriotic heroism is it not time for us to consider whether or no we are not in danger of a new rebellion? Ten years have passed since we were battling for the life of the nation, and the very men we were then fighting not only live but live to make laws for you and me, the crippled soldier, the widows and orphans they themselves made in their mad frenzy to destroy the nation. North and South, East and West, everywhere we are thrust aside to make way for the men who upheld the flag of treason and rebellion. A majority of the governing party in Congress in a few short months will be ex-rebel soldiers. As to what they will do you and I know. What the Democracy will do we know just as well. When the Democratic mayor of New York city appoints as his chief clerk the private Secretary of Jeff Davis, and the sheriff names as his clerk of arrests the keeper of Libby prison, we don't need to rest in doubt as to what the future of this country will be under Democratic rule.

"If I did aught to bring upon my country this great calamity, may God forgive me. But, my friend, the time is coming when I can make reparation—full, complete. I don't believe that the rich, ripe fruit of the great rebellion is to perish like dead sea apples, to ashes, on our lips. The men who saved this nation will not, in my opinion, be struck down by the same foe that ten years since groveled in abject submission at their feet. There is a higher duty than duty to

the Constitution, and that is our duty to the rights of man—the individual rights of man. To this creed the President stands to-day, against all opposition, and with him and by him we will stand. Andrew Johnson said once that treason should be made odious. If we submit now—if we permit this Government to pass into the hands of those who would have, but for us, destroyed it—then will *patriotism* have been made odious, and our shame and disgrace be but the precursor to our own calamity and ruin. What will the Administration do? Will it stand firm? I hope so. It need have no fears. The people on this question will stand by it; die by it."

THE recent Republican triumph in the charter election of Philadelphia moves the *North American* of that city to say that it throws much light on the general political prospect next fall, the editor adding:

"The people are not yet tired of Republican doctrine or policy, and certainly show no evidence of any willingness to intrust themselves to Democratic control. Too sure of approaching power, the Democrats began to show the cloven foot almost before the echoes of their gunpowder rejoicings over their gains last fall had died away, and as a consequence those who were wavering begin to see the dangers into which they were threatening to plunge the country."

SENATOR BOUTWELL'S speech on the Southern situation was able, earnest, and truthful. He was literally exact in declaring that at least one-half the misfortunes of the South were due to the vicious policy of Northern Democrats, who, he said, could be of no use to their Southern confederates. The latter were told the real truth in these words: "When you accept the negro as your equal politically the contest will be over. Until you do so accept him the contest will continue. Make your choice."

THE Democracy in New Hampshire are getting ready to file in with White Leaguers, if we may judge from the following sentiment of the *Manchester Union*:

"Our own opinion is that there never is to be peace and prosperity in this country again *until the negro is suppressed* as a political power. The Southern people should understand this, and, instead of courting him, *fight him.*"

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—THE CENTENNIAL BALLOT.

PART I—THE PAST.

The year 1876 will be remarkable for two important historical events. In that year we shall, under a favoring Providence, celebrate our hundredth anniversary of national existence, and present to the representatives of other great Powers who may be pleased to participate in our International Exhibition a condition of substantial progress in all the desirable elements of national development such as no other Government and people have ever manifested in any age of the world. In that year, also, the popular ballot for the election of the nineteenth President of the United States, and for Representatives in the Forty-fifth Congress will occur, an event which, under the current condition of the country is fraught with vastly greater importance to the people and the generations that may come after them than the Centennial celebration. The one commemorates pleasantly, and no doubt profitably, the past; the other will bear directly upon the future; and, according to its results, may either guarantee the successful completion of the work of emancipation, universal freedom, popular education, and general internal development commenced, and thus far aided and guided by the fostering policy of the Republican party, or the Government may again revert to the hands of the Democratic party, who have ever and persistently opposed the policy of the party now in power; and will, so far as the Constitution and statute law will permit, seek to undo the work of the past fourteen years. This statement is not made hastily or without due consideration. We all know that the policy of each party, in all the fundamental principles of political economy, is opposed to that of the other, and that in developing their peculiar views the Democratic party if again put in possession of the Federal and State governments will instinctively, if not with reason, strive to pull down, so far as it may be possible to do so, the political structure erected by the Republican party. Lest, therefore, we may be charged with jumping at con-

clusions without sufficient warrant, it will be well to give the reasons upon which these conclusions are based. And, first,

THE SECESSION SPIRIT OF THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY DID NOT ORIGINATE IN, NOR WAS IT EVER PROMPTED BY, SERIOUS FEARS OF BAD RESULTS FROM ABOLITION AGITATION.

Secession is not a hobby of modern origin. The egg from which the scorpion was hatched seems to have been preserved from about the time the Federal Constitution was adopted, and incubation took place soon after that memorable event. The product, it is true, was limited in numbers at first, but it has been steadily growing. McPherson, in his admirable "History of the Rebellion," truthfully says, as every intelligent man knows full well, that "in the slaveholding States a considerable body of men have always been disaffected to the Union. They resisted the adoption of the National Constitution, then sought to refine away the rights and powers of the General Government, and by artful expedients, in a series of years, using the excitements growing out of passing questions, finally perverted the sentiments of large masses of men, and prepared them for revolution." In the first Congress under the Constitution, when a tariff bill was under consideration, June 9, 1789, Pierce Butler, from South Carolina, made a violent speech, in which (says Hon. Wm. McCauley, a United States Senator from Pennsylvania, in his private journal, now in the hands of his relative, Geo. W. Harris, Esq., of Harrisburg, Pa.) "he THREATENED A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, with regard to his State, *as sure as God was in the firmament*. * * * His State would live free or die glorious."

And so South Carolina Democrats cherished and nurtured their favorite hobby of dissolution under every conceivable pretext until it spread and culminated in the attempted secession and rebellion of 1861. In a recently-discovered letter, marked "private" and written at Washington on the 1st of May, 1833, by Andrew Jackson to Rev. A. J. Crawford, the writer says:

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * I have had a laborious task here, but nullification is dead; and its actors and counsellors will only be remembered by the people to be execrated for their wicked designs to sever and destroy the only good Government on the globe, and that happiness and prosperity we enjoy over every other portion of the world. Haman's gallows ought to be the fate of all such ambitious men who would involve their country in civil war, and all the evils in its train, that they might reign and ride on its whirlwinds and direct the storm. The free people of these United States have spoken, and consigned these wicked demagogues to their proper doom. Take care of your nullifiers; you have them among you; let them meet with the indignant frowns of every man who loves his country. The tariff, it is now known, was a mere pretext—its burden was on your coarse woollens. By the law of July, 1832, coarse woolen was reduced to 5 per cent. for the benefit of the South. Mr. Clay's bill takes it up and classes it with woollens at 50 per cent., reduces it gradually down to 20 per cent., and there it remains; and Mr. Calhoun and all the nullifiers agree to the principle. The cash duties and home valuation will be equal to 15 per cent. more, and after the year 1842 you pay on coarse woollens 35 per cent. If this is not protection I cannot understand; therefore the tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. *The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question.*"

Jackson's prediction that slavery would be the next question upon which to base and develop the secession spirit was soon realized. His letter was written in 1833. Benton, in his "Thirty Years in the Senate," says:

"The regular inauguration of this slavery question dates from the year 1835; but it had commenced two years before, and in this way: Nullification and disunion had commenced in 1830 upon complaint against protective tariff. That being put down in 1833 under President Jackson's proclamation and energetic measures, *was immediately substituted by the slavery agitation.* Mr. Calhoun, when he went home from Congress in the spring of that year, told his friends that 'the South could never be united against the North on the tariff question, that the sugar interest of Louisiana would keep her out, and that the basis of Southern union must be shifted to the slave question.' Then all the papers in his interest, and especially the one at Washington, published by Duff Green, dropped tariff agitation and commenced upon slavery, and in two years had the agitation ripe for inauguration on the slavery question. And

tracing this agitation to its present stage, and to comprehend its *rationale*, it is not to be forgotten that it is a mere continuation of old tariff disunion, and preferred because more available."

And here let it be remembered that at no period from this time up to the commencement of their own rebellion in 1861 did the Democracy of the South apprehend any danger to their slave institution. A few conscientious men at the commencement of the agitation emancipated their slaves, but there is nothing in history to indicate apprehension of danger to the institution. On the contrary, we shall show from their own confessions that while they made the agitation of the question a pretext for secession they felt that the system of slavery was growing in strength and safety until their own rebellious acts paved the way to its extinction. From a speech of Hon. James H. Hammond, United States Senator from South Carolina, delivered at Barnwell Court House October 27, 1858, we quote, in support of our position, the following significant evidence:

"From the time that the wise and good Las Casas first introduced into America the institution of African slavery—I say institution because it is the oldest that exists—it has had its enemies. For a long while they were chiefly men of peculiar and eccentric religious notions. Their first practical and political success arose from the convulsions of the French revolution, which lost to that empire its best colony. Next came the prohibition of the slave trade, the excitement of the Missouri Compromise in this country, and then the deliberate emancipation of slaves in their colonies by the British Government in 1833-'34. About the time of the passage of that act the abolition agitation was renewed again in this country, and abolition societies were formed. I remember the time well, and some of you do also.

"And what then was the state of opinion in the South? Washington had emancipated his slaves. Jefferson had bitterly denounced the system, and had done all that he could to destroy it. Our Clays, Marshalls, Crawfords, and many other prominent Southern men had led off in the colonization scheme. The inevitable effect in the South was that she believed slavery to be an evil, weakness, disgraceful—nay, a sin. She shrunk from the discussion of it. She cowered under every threat. She attempted to apologize, to excuse herself, under the plea—which was true—that England had forced it upon her. * * * But a few bold spirits

took the question up; they compelled the South to investigate it anew and thoroughly, and what is the result? Why, it would be difficult now to find a Southern man who feels the system to be the slightest burden on his conscience; who does not, in fact, regard it as an equal advantage to the master and the slave, elevating both, as wealth, strength, and power, and as one of the main pillars and controlling influences of modern civilization, and who is not now prepared to maintain it at any hazard. *Such has been for us the happy results of this abolition discussion. So far our gain has been immense from this contest, savage and malignant as it has been.* Nay, we have solved already the question of emancipation by this re-examination and exposition of the false theories of religion, philanthropy, and political economy which embarrassed our fathers in their day.

"With our convictions and our strength emancipation here is simply an impossibility to man, whether by persuasion, purchase, or coercion. The rock of Gibraltar does not stand so firm on its basis as our slave system. For a quarter of a century it has borne the brunt of a hurricane as fierce and pitiless as ever raged. At the North, and in Europe, they cried 'havoc,' and let loose upon us all the dogs of war. And how stands it now? Why, in this very quarter of a century, *our slaves have doubled in numbers, and each slave has more than doubled in value.* The very negro who, as a prime laborer, would have brought \$400 in 1828, would now, with thirty more years upon him, sell for \$800. What does all this mean? Why, that we ourselves have settled this question of emancipation against all the world, in theory and in practice, and the world must accept our solution."

Here we have the slave owner himself upon the stand, testifying that the agitation of the slave question strengthened the institution and enhanced the value of human chattels. But there are other witnesses to the same theory. The Hon. A. H. Stephens, on retiring from Congress, in a speech in July, 1859, reviewing his political career, used the following language:

"Nor am I of the number of those who believed we have sustained any injury by these agitations. * * * But so far from the institution of African slavery in our section being weakened or rendered less secure by the discussion, my deliberate judgment is that it has been greatly strengthened and fortified—strengthened and fortified not only to the opinions, convictions, and consciences of men, but by the action of the Government."

Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, United States Sen-

ator, in a speech at Charlottesville, Va., on the occasion of the Breckinridge Democratic State Convention, in 1860, claimed that the agitation of the slave question, instead of weakening, had morally strengthened the system. He said:

"In many respects the results of that discussion have not been adverse to us. Southern men no longer occupy a deprecatory attitude upon the question of negro slavery in this country."

And when W. L. Yancey, P. A. Rost, and A. Dudley Mann were sent by the Southern Confederacy to England as a commission to appeal for the recognition of the Confederate Government, they commenced their memorial to Earl Russell, August 14, 1861, with this argument:

"*It was from no fear that the slave would be liberated that secession took place. The very party in power has professed to guarantee slavery forever in the States if the South would but remain in the Union.*"

In these quotations we have conclusive evidence from their own lips and memorials that the Democratic slave owners of the South never apprehended any danger to their peculiar institution so long as they remained in the Union and comported themselves as good and law-abiding citizens.

And here it must be noticed that the spirit of secession was, and still is, wholly confined to the Southern wing of the Democratic party, encouraged and aided, we are sorry to say, by their Northern allies, while the Republican party, as a party and individually, have always opposed the spirit and acts of secession, treason, and rebellion under every aspect and pretense whatever. In every inspiration tending, however remotely, toward a dissolution of the Union, there is a direct antagonism between the two great political parties, and always will be until *E Pluribus Unum* is universally accepted in a spirit of patriotism, as well as in name, as the motto of the United States, which, to be harmonious and prosperous, must remain "one and inseparable, now and forever."

But we remark further, that while the spirit of secession did not originate in any fear for the safety of the slave system, it is

clearly shown by the speeches and addresses of its advocates that

THE ACT OF TREASON WAS FIRST RESOLVED UPON, AND THE PRETEXT SOUGHT AFTERWARD.

South Carolina, always a wayward and rebellious sister in the family of States, took the lead in the secession movement, and ostensibly because Mr. Lincoln had been declared elected, immediately, "under concert of action previously arranged," called its leading traitors together, and then by the usurped authority of its Governor, (Pickens,) issued a proclamation announcing "the dissolution of the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America," and declaring to the world "that the State of South Carolina is, as she has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free, and independent State, and, as such, has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues, or covenants, and to do all acts whatsoever that rightfully appertain to a free and independent State."

Now comes the evidence of serious difficulty in finding a satisfactory excuse for their treason: In justification of the passage of an ordinance of secession the convention of South Carolina adopted *two* papers, one reported by Mr. R. B. Rhett, being styled "The Address of the People of South Carolina, Assembled in Convention, to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States," and the other reported by Mr. C. G. Memminger, being styled "Declaration of the Causes which Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union." When those papers were presented for adoption there were serious discrepancies between them in specifying the basis of secession. They were read and re-read and debated two days, mainly upon what was stated and what was omitted on this point. Mr. Maxcy Gregg thought they should go back "forty years" to "a war against the tariff and against internal improvements, saying nothing of the *United States Bank* and other measures which now may be regarded as obsolete."

Mr. Keitt followed in a speech in which he said: "My friend suggests that sufficient notice has not been paid to the tariff. Your

late Senators and every one of your members of the House of Representatives voted for the present tariff. If the gentleman had been there he would also have voted for it. [Laughter.] * * *

The tariff is not the question which has brought us up to our present attitude." Again: "The gentleman from Chesterfield says that a certain construction of one act of the Pennsylvania Code is denied by the citizens of that State. *I myself have my grave doubts about the propriety of the fugitive slave law.* * * * If you wish to find the immediate cause of the secession of South Carolina, the immediate cause of all is the election of Mr. Lincoln."

Mr. Rhett, in a speech, said:

"The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. *It is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the slave law.* It is a matter which has been gathering for thirty years. * * * In regard to the slave law, I myself doubt its constitutionality."

Judge Withers, in an address taking part in the controversy, made a lengthy argument, in which he said: "All this matter of the tariff has been enacted while the Confederacy existed, and with South Carolina as a party to the transaction. When it began in 1816 who was it voted for a tariff highly protective to domestic manufactures? Did not that great man whom we all reverence both living and dead—I mean Mr. Calhoun—vote for this measure? Did not the representative from the Congressional district including Richland vote for the tariff of 1816? Has there ever been a time when Louisiana, Missouri, and Kentucky were not in favor of a protective tariff, not only for protection of domestic manufactures, but for protection on the products of sugar and hemp? *Are you sure they will join you in saying they will dissolve the Union on account of the existing tariff giving protection to domestic manufactures?*" In concluding his address the Judge said: "If I were to stand here and declare the various causes which led me to subscribe my name to the act of secession, I SHOULD INSIST ON SOME OTHER CONSIDERATIONS BESIDES THOSE SUGGESTED BY THIS ADDRESS. * * * I think if every member of the convention should draw up an indictment against the people of the unfaithful Confederate States, and you

might have any number of addresses upon that subject, *you would find no two very nearly alike*. Since, therefore, every one's taste and judgment cannot be answered, if there be no substantial objection to the addresses before us, as I think there is not, it is proper to vote for them, and I shall do so." The Judge, like his associates in the conspiracy, was bound to go ahead, cause or no cause, even, as the school boys say, if he should have to "go it blind."

This portion of the treasonable programme was enacted wholly by the Democracy, and the Republican party were a unit in opposing the movement.

Again the leaders in the conspiracy were not only without a tangible plea for secession, but

THE REBELLION WAS INAUGURATED NOT ONLY WITHOUT CAUSE, BUT AGAINST THE BETTER JUDGMENT OF ITS PROMOTERS.

In support of this fact we shall call the Hon. A. H. Stephens to the stand. Here is his testimony as given before the State Legislature of Georgia on the 14th of November, 1860. There is no doubt Mr. Stephens felt that he uttered the truth when he said:

"The first question that presents itself is, Shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, *I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnestly that I do not think that they ought*. In my judgment the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union.

"It ought to stand by and aid still in maintaining the Constitution and the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been Constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that, too, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the Government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves—withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Re-

public is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads.

"Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution if such is their fell purpose. Let the responsibility be upon them. I shall speak presently more of their acts, but let not the South—let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished, but the election has been Constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, *the record would be made up hereafter against us*."

Mr. Stephens then considered the paltry pleas offered for their treason, the first of which was the fishing bounties, which he showed his audience began under the rule of a Southern President. The next was the tariff, on which he remarked:

"The next evil which my friend complained of was the tariff. Well, let us look at that for a moment. About the time I commenced noticing public matters this question was agitating the country almost as fearfully as the slave question now is. In 1832, when I was in college, South Carolina was ready to nullify or secede from the Union on this account. And what have we seen? The tariff no longer distracts the public counsels. Reason has triumphed! The present tariff was voted for by Massachusetts and South Carolina. The lion and the lamb lay down together—every man in the Senate and House from Massachusetts and South Carolina, I think, voted for it, as did my honorable friend himself. And if it be true, to use the figure of speech of my honorable friend, that every man in the North that works in iron, and brass, and wood has his muscle strengthened by the protection of the Government, that stimulant was given by his vote, and I believe every other Southern man. So we ought not to complain of that."

On turning to the general prosperity of the country and the wickedness of the secession movement, Mr. Stephens said:

"When I look around and see our prosperity in everything, agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as moral advancement, and our colleges, I think, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to—let us not too readily yield to this tempta-

tion—do so. Our first parents, the great progenitors of the human race, were not without a like temptation when in the garden of Eden. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered—that their eyes would be opened—and that they would become as gods. They in an evil hour yielded—instead of becoming gods, they only saw their own nakedness.”

Mr. Stephens, in this remarkable speech, reviewed the whole subject of secession in a calm, faithful manner, and assured the Legislature that his object was “not to stir up strife, but to allay it; not to appeal to your passions, but to your reason.” But his warning voice was not heeded. A few days later, in January, 1861, through the influence brought to bear upon some of the influential members of the State Legislature by a delegation of traitors sent from South Carolina, a State convention for secession was called in Georgia, and Mr. Stephens again spoke in opposition to the infatuation of his associates. This speech was even more patriotic than his former one, as the following quotations will show :

This step (of secession) once taken, can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow will rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, WHICH THIS ACT OF YOURS WILL INEVITABLY INVITE AND CALL FORTH; when our green fields of waving harvest shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land; our temples of justice laid in ashes; all the horrors and desolations of war upon us; WHO BUT THIS CONVENTION WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR IT? and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure, as I honestly think and believe, SHALL BE HELD TO STRICT ACCOUNT FOR THIS SUICIDAL ACT BY THE PRESENT GENERATION, AND PROBABLY CURSED AND EXECRATED BY POSTERITY FOR ALL COMING TIME, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate? Pause I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. WHAT REASONS CAN YOU GIVE TO THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH TO JUSTIFY IT? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case; and what cause or one overt act can you name or point on which to rest the plea of justification? WHAT RIGHT HAS THE

NORTH ASSAILED? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. While, on the other hand, let me show the facts (and believe me, gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North; but I am here the friend, the firm friend, and lover of the South and her institutions, and for this reason I speak thus plainly and faithfully for yours, mine, and every other man's interest, the words of truth and soberness,) of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country. When we of the South demanded the slave-trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? But do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individual and local communities, they may have done so; but not by the sanction of Government; for that has been always true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another act: when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you by this unwise and impolitic act do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps by it LOSE ALL, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico were; or by the *raductive decree* of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the General Government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South; as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive department. So of the Judges of the Supreme Court, we have had

eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of Government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (*pro tem.*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured a Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the General Government. Attorneys-General we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies so as to secure the world-markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of Clerks, Auditors, Comptrollers filling the Executive department, the records show for the last fifty years that of the three thousand thus employed we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic.

Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue or means of supporting Government. From official documents we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of Government has uniformly been raised from the North.

Pause now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. Look at another necessary branch of Government, and learn from stern statistical facts how matters stand in that department. I mean the mail and post office privileges that we now enjoy under the General Government as it has been for years past. The expense for the transportation of the mail in the Free States was, by the report of the Postmaster General for the year of 1860, a little over \$13,000,000, while the income was \$19,000,000. But in the Slave States the transportation of the mail was \$14,716,000, while the revenue from the same was \$8,001,026, leaving a deficit of \$6,704,974, to be sup-

plied by the North for our accommodation, and without it we must have been entirely cut off from this most essential branch of Government.

Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North; with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition—and for what, we ask again? Is it for the overthrow of the American Government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principals of *Right, Justice and Humanity*? And, as such I must declare, here as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that it is the best and freest Government—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most aspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—is the height of *madness, folly, and wickedness*, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote.

But after all this warning, admonition, and patriotic pleading, the State went out, and Mr. Stephens went with it to become the second officer in the traitors' confederacy of rebellious States! The rebellion was carried into a civil war of fearful magnitude, resulting, as had been predicted, in total disaster to the leaders in the infamous scheme, and in the loss on both sides of about a million of noble lives, leaving vacant chairs in nearly as many previously happy families, accumulating Union and Confederate debts to the extent of five thousand million dollars, and causing the total destruction of property to another amount of equal extent, and leaving the public mind of the South in no better condition to yield a cheerful obedience to duty as patriotic and law-abiding citizens than it was before the war of the rebellion was precipitated through the madness of a few rebel leaders upon the country.

The record of the South, as now presented

in history, confirms the fact that the inspiration to secession and rebellion originated in South Carolina; that the border States were opposed to any rebellious manifestation over the election of President Lincoln, and that the other slave States were not disposed to make any demonstration until after the Fire-Eaters of South Carolina sent out their incendiary addresses, followed by special delegations to all the other slave-holding States to urge immediate action. At the same time they refused to listen to delegations from any of the slave-holding States when they came in the interests of peace. On the 27th of November, 1860, the Legislature of Virginia delegated the Hon. Judge Robertson on a mission of peace to the Legislature of South Carolina. The Judge was received, but "the proposition for a conference and co-operative action" was rejected, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the General Assembly of South Carolina tenders to the Legislature of Virginia their acknowledgment of the friendly motives which inspired the mission intrusted to Hon. Judge Robertson, her Commissioner.

"*Resolved unanimously*, That candor, which is due to the long-continued sympathy and respect which has subsisted between Virginia and South Carolina, induces the Assembly to declare with frankness that they do not deem it advisable to initiate negotiations, when they have no desire or intention to promote the ultimate object in view. That object is declared, in the resolution of the Virginia Legislature, to be the procurement of amendments to, or new guarantees in, the Constitution of the United States.

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the separation of South Carolina from the Federal Union is final, and she has no further interest in the Constitution of the United States; and that the only appropriate negotiations between her and the Federal Government are as to their mutual relations as foreign States.

"*Resolved unanimously*, That in these circumstances this Assembly, with renewed assurances of cordial respect and esteem for the people of Virginia, and high consideration for her Commissioner, decline entering into the negotiations proposed."

As already remarked Kentucky and the other border States were, like Virginia, opposed to secession, but South Carolina turned a deaf ear to all their pleadings and remonstrances. As showing the temper of the pub-

lic mind among the leaders in the treasonable plots concocted in that State, we quote the following editorial from the Charleston *Mercury* in reference to border State embassies:

"Hear them if you please; treat them with civility; feed them, and drench them in champagne and let them go! Let us act as if they had never come, as if they had not spoken, as if they did not exist; and let them seek to preserve their Treasury pap through some more supple agency than ours. The time has gone by when the voice of a Virginia politician, though he coo like a dove, should be heard in the land of a patriotic people."

Just at this stage of the rebellion if instead of a Buchanan there had been a Jackson or a Grant in the White House, Haman's gallows would have been called into use and put to a practical purpose, and the country would have been set at rest, with all its lost blood and treasure saved. May we all remember the past when called to the high privilege of depositing our Centennial Ballot for a United States President.

Citizens of a constitutional republic, with a government by and for the people, based on equal rights and a free ballot, can never have cause for rebellion, and in the language of the poet:

"Curse on the innovator's hand attempts it!
Remember him the villain, righteous heaven,
In thy great day of vengeance! blast the
Traitor!
And his pernicious counsels; who, for wealth,
For power, the pride of greatness, or revenge,
Would plunge his native land in civil wars."

PART II.—THE PRESENT.

With the malcontents of the Palmetto State in the van the South hoisted the traitors' flag and went into open rebellion against what A. H. Stephens had just declared in his great speech to be the best government in the world. The North met the issue promptly in the irresistible spirit of unconquerable patriotism, and after four full years of war for the Union, General Grant addressed the following letter to the commander of the rebel army:

APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VIRGINIA,
April 9, 1865.

GENERAL: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be

given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

General R. E. LEE.

"Not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside." Here was laid, in a friendly and conciliatory spirit a broad basis for union, harmony, and universal peace and good will. What more could have been done? What else could have been asked? Yet the Southern army had scarcely returned to their homes and greeted their long neglected families until internal dissensions and open opposition to "the laws in force where they resided" were developed in Kuklux organizations, open persecution of inoffensive citizens, intimidation, school-house and church burning, and midnight assassination of individuals, and often of entire families, and, excepting when checked by "United States authority," this state of affairs has continued in many of the rebel States down to the present time. Never were a conquered people followed to their homes with more generous impulses for their welfare than were these by the Federal authorities and the entire people of the free States. Instead of placing them under territorial discipline, they were granted all the constitutional rights and privileges of a free people. A system of reconstruction on the most liberal basis of equality was inaugurated; a general system of free schools was commenced; hundreds of school-houses were erected by the aid of Northern generosity in contributing funds for the same, and thousands of male and female teachers vol-

unteered their services in aid of the work. Capital flowed freely into the South, and a universal impulse was manifested to build up that wasted section of the country and more than restore its former prosperity.

What was the result? Every generous act was repulsed; school-houses were burned; teachers were driven from the country or shot in their places—some of them in their beds; capitalists and their families were denied recognition in society and refused the common courtesies of life, and hundreds of them were obliged to leave the country at the sacrifice of their entire property, in order in many cases to save their lives.

Instead of recognizing the changed condition of affairs and co-operating in the advancement of the country under the reconstruction laws, the rights of the emancipated race were ignored, and wherever the State Legislature and municipal organizations were under rebel control, laws were passed to reduce the colored citizens to a condition as near to that of actual slavery as it was possible. In order to comprehend to some extent the policy pursued toward the helpless freedmen, who, in their political childhood should have been accorded the helping hand of a generous humanity—we shall quote briefly from some of the enactments of the State authorities.

CIVIL RIGHTS AFTER EMANCIPATION.

In Mississippi the Legislature passed "An act to confer civil rights on freedmen and for other purposes," which was approved November 24, 1865. The "civil rights" portion of the act is infinitesimal, but in that part of it designed "for other purposes," we find the following provisions:

"No freedmen, free negro, or mulatto can rent or lease any lands or tenements except in incorporated towns or cities in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same."

Again, without any regard to the severity of the provocation to leave his or her employer, it is enacted that—

"Every civil officer shall, and every person may, arrest and carry back to his or her employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service; and said officer or

person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employee aforesaid the sum of five dollars, and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, and the same shall be paid by the employer, and held as a set-off for so much against the wages of said employee."

And to make escape impossible it is further enacted that—

"Upon the affidavit made by the employer of any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or any credible person, before any justice of the peace, or member of the board of police, that any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, employed by said employer has deserted said employment, such justice of the peace, or member of the board of police, shall issue his warrant, returnable before himself or other such officer, directed to any sheriff, constable, or special deputy, commanding him to arrest said deserter and return him or her to said employer, and the same proceedings shall be had as provided in the preceding section. It shall be lawful for any officer to whom such warrant shall be directed to execute said warrant in any county of this State, and said warrant shall be transmitted without indorsement to any like officer of another county, to be executed as aforesaid, and the said employer shall pay the costs, which shall be set off for so much against the wages of said deserter."

To cap the climax it is enacted that—

"If any person shall knowingly employ any such deserting freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or shall sell to any such freedman, free negro, or mulatto any food, raiment, or other thing, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars; * * and if said fine and costs are not immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding two months' imprisonment in the county jail, and he or she shall moreover be liable in damages to the party injured."

So much for the act to confer "civil rights" in Mississippi. But this was not enough. Another "Act to amend the Vagrant Laws" was passed, which provides:

"That all freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes in this State over the age of eighteen years found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found assembling themselves together either in the day or night time shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction shall be fined fifty dollars. * *

"That all fines collected under the provisions of this act shall be paid into the county

treasury for general county purposes, and in case any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail for five days after the imposition of any fine or forfeiture upon him or her for violation of any of the provisions of this act to pay the same, then it shall be, and is hereby, made the duty of the sheriff of the proper county to hire out said freedman, free negro, or mulatto to any person who will for the shortest period of service pay said fine or forfeiture and all costs. Preference shall be given to the employer, if there be one, in which case he shall be entitled to deduct and retain the amount so paid from the wages of such freedman, free negro, or mulatto then due or to become due; and in case such freedman, free negro, or mulatto cannot be hired out, he or she may be dealt with as a pauper.

"SEC. 6. In order to secure a support for such indigent freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, it shall be lawful, and it is hereby made the duty of the boards of county police of each county in this State, to levy a poll or capitation tax on each and every freedman, free negro, or mulatto, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, of one dollar annually to each person so taxed, which when collected shall be paid into the county treasurer's hands and constitute a fund to be called the "freedman's pauper fund," which shall be applied by the commissioners of the poor for the maintenance of the poor of the freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes of this State, under such regulations as may be established by the boards of county police in the respective counties of this State.

"SEC. 7. *Be further enacted*, That if any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail or refuse to pay any tax levied according to the provisions of the sixth section of this act, it shall be *prima facie* evidence of vagrancy, and it shall be the duty of the sheriff to arrest such freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or such person refusing or neglecting to pay such tax, and proceed at once to hire for the shortest time such delinquent tax-payer to any one who will pay the said tax with accruing costs, giving preference to the employer, if there be one."

In Tennessee a bill was passed which became a law January 25, 1866, as follows:

"That persons of African and Indian descent are hereby declared to be competent witnesses in all the courts of this State in as full a manner as such persons are by an act of Congress competent witnesses in all the courts of the United States, and all laws and parts of laws of the State excluding such persons from competency are hereby repealed: *Provided, however*, That this act shall not be so construed as to give colored persons the right to vote, hold office, or sit on

juries in this State; and that this provision is inserted by virtue of the provision of the ninth section of the amended constitution, ratified February 22, 1865."

In Louisiana, about the same time, it was enacted:

"That any one who shall persuade or entice away, feed, harbor, or secrete any person who leaves his or her employer, with whom she or he has contracted or is assigned to live, or any apprentice who is bound as an apprentice, without the permission of his or her employer, said person or persons so offending shall be liable for damages to the employer, and also, upon conviction thereof, shall be subject to pay a fine of not more than \$500 nor less than ten dollars, or imprisonment in the parish jail for not more than twelve months nor less than ten days, or both, at the discretion of the court."

But the assumed authority to legislate away the rights of colored citizens was not confined to State Legislatures. In Saint Landry, La., the police passed and put in force the following "Ordinances," after the act of emancipation was passed by Congress:

SEC. 1. *Be it ordained by the police jury of the parish of Saint Landry*, That no negro shall be allowed to pass within the limits of said parish without a special permit in writing from his employer. Whoever shall violate this provision shall pay a fine of \$2 50, or in default thereof shall be forced to work four days on the public roads or suffer corporal punishment, as provided hereinafter.

SEC. 2. *Be it further ordained*, That every negro who shall be found absent from the residence of his employer after ten o'clock at night, without a written permit from his employer, shall pay a fine of five dollars, or in default thereof shall be compelled to work five days on the public road or suffer corporal punishment, as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 3. *Be it further ordained*, That no negro shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within said parish. Any negro violating this provision shall be immediately ejected and compelled to find an employer; and any person who shall rent or give the use of any house to any negro in violation of this section shall pay a fine of five dollars for each offense.

SEC. 4. *Be it further ordained*, That every negro is required to be in the regular service of some white person or former owner. But said employer or former owner may permit said negro to hire his own time by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over seven days at any one time. Any negro violating the provisions of this section shall be fined five dollars for each

offense, or in default of the payment thereof shall be forced to work five days on the public road, or suffering corporal punishment, as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 5. *Be it further ordained*, That no public meetings or congregations of negroes shall be allowed within said parish after sunset; but such public meetings and congregations may be held between the hours of sunrise and sunset, by the special permission in writing of the captain of patrol within whose beat such meetings shall take place. This prohibition, however, is not intended to prevent negroes from attending the usual church services conducted by white ministers and priests. Every negro violating the provisions of this section shall pay a fine of five dollars or in default thereof shall be compelled to work five days on the public road, or suffer corporal punishment as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 6. *Be it further ordained*, That no negro shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people, without a special permission in writing from the president of the police jury. Any negro violating the provisions of this section shall pay a fine of ten dollars, or in default thereof shall be forced to work ten days on the public road, or suffer corporal punishment, as hereinafter provided."

Which "corporal punishment" was confining the body of the offender within a barrel placed over his or her shoulders in the manner practiced in the army, such confinement not to continue longer than twelve hours, and for such time within the aforesaid limit as shall be fixed by the captain or chief of patrol who inflicts the penalty.

Georgia followed suit by enacting, March 20, 1866, that—

"Crimes defined in certain sections named as felonies are reduced below felonies, and all other crimes punishable by fine or imprisonment, or either, shall be likewise punishable by a fine not exceeding \$1,000, imprisonment not exceeding six months, whipping not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, to work in a chain-gang on the public works not to exceed twelve months; and any one or more of these punishments may be ordered in the discretion of the judge."

South Carolina, October 19, 1865, passed a law which provides—

"That a person of color who is in the employment of a master engaged in husbandry shall not have the right to sell any corn, rice, pease, wheat, or other grain, any flour, cotton, fodder, hay, bacon, fresh meat of any kind, animal of any kind, or any other pro-

duct of a farm, without having written evidence from such master, or some person authorized by him, or from the district judge or a magistrate, that he has the right to sell such product; and if any person shall, directly or indirectly, purchase any such product from such person of color without such written evidence, the purchaser and seller shall each be guilty of a misdemeanor.

And on the 21st of December, 1865, enacted that—

"A parent may bind his child over two years of age as an apprentice to serve till twenty-one if a male, eighteen if a female. All persons of color who make contracts for service or labor shall be known as servants, and those with whom they contract as masters."

That is infant slavery, restored under a new name. But the same law contains a provision for manhood proscription and subjection so near akin to the regulations under the old slave code that it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other. It provides that—

"No person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shop-keeper, or any other trade, employment, or business (besides that of husbandry, or that of a servant under a contract for service or labor) on his own account and for his own benefit, or in partnership with a white person, or as agent or servant of any person, until he shall have obtained a license therefor from the judge of the district court, which license shall be good for one year only. This license the judge may grant upon petition of the applicant, and upon being satisfied of his skill and fitness and of his good moral character, and upon payment by the applicant to the clerk of the district court of \$100, if a shop-keeper or peddler, to be paid annually, and ten dollars if a mechanic, artisan, or to engage in any other trade, also to be paid annually: *Provided, however,* That upon complaint being made and proved to the district judge of an abuse of such license he shall revoke the same."

Florida passed an act January 15, 1866, in which section 1 defines as a vagrant—"every able-bodied person who has no visible means of living and shall not be employed at some labor to support himself or herself, or shall be leading an idle, immoral, or profligate course of life;" and may be arrested by any justice of the peace or judge of the county criminal court and be bound "in sufficient surety" for good behavior and future industry

for one year. Upon refusing or failing to give such security, he or she may be committed for trial, and, if convicted, sentenced to labor or imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or being put in the pillory. If sentenced to labor, the "sheriff or other officer of said court shall hire out such person for the term to which he or she shall be sentenced, not exceeding twelve months aforesaid, and the proceeds of such hiring shall be paid into the county treasury."

These and similar acts were passed almost simultaneously after the Federal Government had emancipated the colored race. In the language of Senator Henry R. Pease, of Mississippi, uttered in his admirable speech in the United States Senate on the 26th of January, 1875, to which we are indebted for many of the above quotations—"is it any wonder that the negro continues to distrust the men who made these enactments, or can the American people trust to them the liberties and suffrage of the colored people of the South and the guardianship of the principles established in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments?"

ANTAGONISM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE SOUTH TO POPULAR EDUCATION.

It is perhaps not doing justice to the Democratic party generally to confine this opposition to popular education to the South. Hon. S. S. Cox, Democratic Representative from New York, said in Congress on the 17th of January, when the annual appropriation of only \$35,000 for the Educational Bureau was under consideration, "I am not only opposed to increasing the number of clerks in this Bureau, but I would be in favor of striking out the whole \$35,000—*everything pertaining to education* from the Federal standpoint. * * * I will say that I have been opposed to all this bureaucratic system, Freedman's Bureau and all; aye, to the Agricultural Bureau, if you please. * * * *The only way is to cut them up by the roots, and it will be done by the next Congress if not by this.*" So much for Northern Democratic sentiment. The spirit here communicated is practically enforced in the South wherever the Democratic party are in the ascendancy. In order to show from reliable authorities what the

Republican party have done to build up, and what the Democratic party are doing to defeat a system of popular education in the South, we present the following facts:

ARKANSAS.—First public school-house in the State was built by the freedmen in 1864. No free public schools for white or colored children until after the war.—*Report Superintendent Freedmen's Schools, Arkansas, 1864.*

On her admission to the Union, in 1836, Arkansas received 928,000 acres of land from the General Government to aid free schools; at the same time two townships to establish a seminary of learning; afterward seventy-two sections of saline lands in aid of education. For more than thirty years no free schools were established. The first effective system was established by Republican administration in 1868. In 1870 there were in the State 1,289 school-houses erected since the war; there were 2,537 schools in operation. In 1872 there were 1,292 school-houses, whose value exceeded \$255,000. In 1871 there were about 70,000 pupils in the schools. These results were achieved during six years of Republican rule and under adverse circumstances.—*Reports Superintendent Public Instruction Arkansas, 1868 to 1873.*

GEORGIA.—Before the war Georgia had no effective free-school system. During the short period of Republican administration after the war 816 free public schools were established, in which were taught about 40,000 pupils.—*Report of J. R. Lewis, State Superintendent of Education.*

As soon as the Democrats gained political control the public schools began to languish, and were generally discontinued throughout the State in 1872, the school fund having been diverted from its proper purpose.—*Report State Superintendent Public Instruction.*

In one year ten school-houses and one church used for school purposes were burned by white men in Georgia. This was the second year after the war.—*Report Inspector of Schools Freedmen's Bureau, July, 1867.*

In 1867, a Northern benevolent society sustained two schools for poor whites, numbering 255 pupils, at Atlanta.—*Report Inspector of Schools Freedmen's Bureau, 1868.*

LOUISIANA.—Outside of New Orleans there was no system of free schools before the war. In 1873, 101 school-houses were built, 864 schools in operation, 1,474 teachers employed, and 57,433 pupils taught. The lands appropriated by Congress to aid public schools had been so unwisely managed as to render little or no aid prior to 1870.—*Reports Superintendent Public Instruction Louisiana, 1870-'73.*

SOUTH CAROLINA.—In 1870, 110 school-houses were built, 630 free public schools maintained, 734 teachers employed, and 23,441 pu-

pils taught.—*Report of Superintendent Public Instruction State of South Carolina, 1870-'71.*

TENNESSEE.—Tennessee had no efficient free-school system until 1867. In twenty-two months under Republican supervision 3,903 schools had been started; 4,614 teachers employed, 185,845 pupils taught; during the same time 629 school-houses have been erected, of which 61 were "burnt or destroyed" during the same period.—*Report Superintendent Public Instruction Tennessee, October, 1869.*

As soon as the State passed under Democratic control the school law was repealed, and the system in vogue before the war re-established. The first report after this change showed that but twenty-three counties out of ninety-four levied any tax for school purposes. Number of schools reported 478; the enumeration of scholastic population was 165,067 against 418,729 in 1869.—*Report Superintendent Public Instruction Tennessee, 1872.*

Granger county, Tennessee, in 1869, had 46 white and 8 colored schools, with 4,125 white pupils and 450 colored. In 1872 the superintendent reports "3 schools; scholastic population about 3,200; no school tax voted."—*Comparison of above reports.*

Dyer county, in 1869, had 41 schools, 43 teachers, 1,389 pupils; in 1871 it had no public schools, and the county refused to vote a school tax.—*Comparison of above reports.*

TEXAS.—Free-school system established in 1871, under Republican rule, and 129,542 pupils had been gathered in schools before September of that year. In May, 1872, 1,921 schools had been organized, 2,299 teachers employed, and 84,007 pupils taught. In 1873, under Democratic rule, the school law was so amended as to almost destroy its efficiency. Thus in September, 1871, there were 587 schools, with 28,800 pupils. In September, 1873, there were 85 schools, with 2,913 pupils; while the number of teachers employed had decreased from 710 in 1871 to 98 in 1873. In 1871 Texas had but one or two public school-houses. About 5,000,000 acres of land were set apart for educational purposes. In 1858 a law was passed appropriating the proceeds of the sale of all public lands to the educational fund; but during the rebellion this revenue, amounting to \$236,000, was diverted from its purpose to assist in carrying on the war against the Government. Of the permanent school fund \$1,285,327 was diverted from its purpose and used in the same manner. Seven hundred and seventy-six thousand seven hundred dollars of United States indemnity bonds belonging to the school fund were also disposed of in like manner.—*See Official Reports Superintendent of Public Instruction Texas for 1871, 1872, 1873.*

THE SOUTH.—Amount of Peabody fund, \$3,500,000.—*Appleton's Cyclopaedia, 1869.*

Contributions to educational work in the South by the American Missionary Association \$1,663,000 in ten years; expended for education by the General Government through the Freedmen's Bureau about \$6,000,000.—*Report Commissioner of Education*, 1871, page 15, note.

In six months, ending June 30, 1869, Northern and foreign benevolence had contributed \$365,000 for the education of Southern youth, white and colored.—*Report Inspector of Schools Freedmen's Bureau*, 1869.

During the last ten years the same benevolence has contributed, aside from Peabody's gift, over \$8,000,000 for Southern education.—*Reports of American Missionary Association, Freedmen's Aid Societies and Church Missionary Boards*.

Some of these are startling statements. In 1871, by Republican energy, there were 587 schools, with 28,800 pupils in Texas. The Legislature passed into the hands of the Democratic party, and in 1873 there were 85 schools with 2,913 pupils. What will be the educational advancement of the four, or now as the statistics show, nearly five millions of colored people if left to the control of the Democratic party? Root out the Educational Bureau, aye, the Agricultural Bureau, abolish the free schools, and save the funds to erect penitentiaries and pauper houses. "Ignorance is bliss." Give us a House of Representatives of the Hon. S. S. Cox type, a Democratic Senate and a Democratic President and Cabinet, and educational retrogression in the South, if not throughout the Union, will be complete. It is nearly so now south of Mason and Dixon's line, as the following table, compiled from the last census by the Commissioner of Education will show, in contrast with other States of the Union:

Per. cent. of illiterates, 10 years and over, to total population of same age.

Alabama	54.19	California	7.37
Arkansas	39.02	Connecticut	6.95
Delaware	24.95	Illinois	7.38
Florida	54.76	Iowa	6.45
Georgia	56.06	Maine	3.86
Kentucky	35.71	Minnesota	7.99
Louisiana	52.46	New Hampshire	3.81
Maryland	23.55	New Jersey	8.03
Mississippi	53.91	New York	7.08
North Carolina	51.67	Ohio	8.86
South Carolina	57.64	Oregon	6.84
Tennessee	40.94	Pennsylvania	8.56
Texas	38.82	Vermont	6.84
Virginia	50.10	Wisconsin	7.38
Average	45.27	Average	6.89

CRIME IN THE SOUTH.

It is not necessary in this connection to present in detail the criminal calendar—the murders, homicides, and other lawless outrages committed in the South since the commencement of the reconstruction of these States. Instead of this, we quote from the speech of Senator Pease in the Senate the following comparative statement of criminal and lawless acts in the different sections of the country. The following is his statement of the case:

"Now, as to the matter of administration of justice, and I speak from personal knowledge. I have not been a casual observer of the events of the South for the last twelve or fifteen years; I have been intimately connected with every form and phase, with every shifting social or political scene in the South since the war. I am familiar with the events of the whole period of transition from slavery to freedom, and I know whereof I speak when I say that, as a rule, there is no such thing as conviction for the crime of murder in the South, especially where a colored man is the victim. There are very many where white men are killed, though even then adequate punishment is rare. We have some as able, honest, and faithful judges as ever graced the bench in the history of mankind; but there is a vitiated public sentiment in the South that controls our courts, controls our juries, controls all our ministers of justice. A white man may slay a negro, and it may be proven as clear as the noon-day sun that it was a case of murder with malice aforethought, and yet you cannot get a jury to convict, and in nine cases out of ten you cannot get a grand jury to indict a white man for killing a negro or a poor white man.

"But change the scene. Suppose a negro has committed some crime. The whole country is in arms. A negro has murdered a white man perhaps. The Associated Press throughout the South darts its lightning messages all over this country proclaiming a negro riot. The people in the section where the homicide is committed pretend to be alarmed. The slogan is taken up by the Ku Klux and White League clans, and suddenly there is a hurrying to and fro. The negro is arrested, and in many cases he is not tried, but summary punishment is administered without judge or jury. Where a white man kills a negro the form of an inquest is sometimes held, and the verdict in nine cases out of ten is a farce, something after this manner: 'That the negro came to his death by an inordinate desire to run after a white man's pistol.' That is about the

way the matter is determined. In this connection, in regard to the statement made by the distinguished Senator from Georgia in reply to the Senator from Indiana, that in Georgia there was as much protection for human life, for property, and all the rights of a citizen as obtain in the State of Indiana, allow me to present some statistical facts in relation to the prevalence of crime in the South, taken from the census of 1870. In the State of Maine, containing a population of 626,915, we find that there were 7 homicides in the year 1870. In the State of New Hampshire, containing a population of 318,300, there was 1 homicide. In Vermont there was none. In Massachusetts, containing a population of 1,457,351, there were 22 homicides. In Rhode Island, 5. In Connecticut, 6, containing a population of over half a million. In New York, containing 4,000,000 inhabitants, out of that number there were 70 homicides. In New Jersey, 5. In Pennsylvania, 60. In Ohio, containing a population of 2,000,000, there were 54. In Michigan, containing a population of 1,184,000, there were 11 homicides. In Indiana, the State the distinguished Senator from Georgia referred to, containing a population of 1,680,637 inhabitants there were 32 homicides in 1870. In Wisconsin, 6. In Illinois, 56. In Minnesota, 5. In Iowa, 24. In Nebraska, 11. Kansas, 42. Total in all these States, 417.

"Now I come to the Southern States, and I call the attention of the Senator from Georgia to those particularly where the affairs of the State are under the control of the 'intelligent and honest people,' where their laws are properly executed, where there is the same sort of protection, as the Senator says, to property and to life that obtains in Indiana. In the State of Delaware, containing 125,000 inhabitants, there were 4 homicides. In Maryland, with only 780,000 inhabitants, 20 homicides. In the District of Columbia, 13. Virginia, including West Virginia, containing a million and a half of population, 80 homicides. In Kentucky, containing over 1,000,000 inhabitants, 73 homicides. In North Carolina, 48. In Tennessee, containing 1,258,520 inhabitants, 117 homicides. In South Carolina, containing 705,000 inhabitants, there were 36. In Georgia, containing 1,184,109 inhabitants, we find in the year 1870, 160 murders; while in the State of Indiana for the same year, containing about the same population, we find only 32. There is the difference. In Alabama, 116. In Florida, 44. In Mississippi, 89. In Missouri, 94. In Arkansas, 76. Louisiana, 128. In Texas, 323. Now, these statistics of murder were gathered from the records of the courts. They were not gotten up in any 'outrage mill' or for any

political purposes. They are matters of statistics that are placed in the archives of the Government. We find in these Southern States during one year 1,361 murders compared with 417 in the Northern States. There is no question in my mind but that at the time these statistics were gathered there were hundreds, yes, I may say, a thousand more murders, the only evidence of which was the bones of the victims lying in the swamps or perhaps newspaper reports, not followed by prosecution.

"I have a little further information upon this matter of crime which I desire to present—and I will be as brief as possible—a statement that is made up, giving the number of murders, and by whom perpetrated, and upon whom, in the State of Arkansas since its reconstruction or since the war. Out of a population in 1870 of 122,169 blacks and 362,115 whites, the number of murders and assaults with intent to kill committed in that State since reconstruction aggregated eleven hundred and sixty-nine. These facts are taken from the records of the courts. They are not all murders, but eleven hundred and sixty-nine comprise murders and assaults with intent to kill. Of those by whom these murders and crimes were committed ten hundred and seventy-eight are whites, and only eighty-two are blacks. Another feature of this statement is, that the victims are eight hundred and sixty-five Republicans and three hundred and four Democrats—nearly three to one. There, sir, is a phase of the character of these outrages and murders, where nearly three to one of the victims of outrage and murder are Republicans. What inference shall we draw from that? Can we draw any other than that these murders are perpetrated to further the partisan ends of a certain party? It is a singular coincidence that in a State three to one of the victims of murder happen to belong to the Republican party. I hold in my hand, but I will not detain the Senate by reading it, a list of murders committed in my own State in the year 1874. They amount to ninety-nine. I have the names taken from the records of the auditor of public accounts, where the payments have been made for expenses in holding coroners' inquests. This does not include the one hundred colored men massacred at Vicksburg, December 7, nor any of the numerous murders upon which no coroners' inquest fees were paid by the State."

This is an alarming record, and yet it embraces only a single year, 1870, while we all know that crime in the South has largely increased since that period. For example, there were 76 murders in Arkansas in 1870, while the total in that State alone, since recon-

struction, aggregated 1,169. Yet there are men in the halls of legislation here in Washington who persistently condone these crimes and have denounced President Grant, General Sheridan, and the Republican party for interfering, in behalf of humanity, to stay the hand of the assassin and protect the lives of innocent men and women. "Let us alone," was the traitors' appeal when the Northern army went out to put down their rebellion and restore the Union. "Let them alone," is now the demand of Democratic Congressmen. "Kuklux and White League organizations are conservators of the peace, and Republicans have no authority or right to interfere." This is the party sentiment openly announced in Congress and by the Democratic press. Is it the will of the people? This question has now to be decided by the Centennial Ballot of 1876.

"The more the bold, the bustling, and the bad,
Press to usurp the reins of power, the more
Behove it virtue, with indignant zeal,
To check their combination."

PART III—THE FUTURE.

There is implanted deep in our nature a sense of right and wrong. We have seen in the first part of this article that the leaders in the late rebellion were conscious that they had no just cause or excuse for their treason. In addition to this, they were told by their own statesmen that they were about to commit a great wrong; that their grievances, if they had any, could all be redressed under the Federal Constitution, and within the Union; that they were living under the best Government in the world; that they had always enjoyed the lion's share of its patronage; that they were prosperous beyond measure; and that, if they seceded from the Union they would bring inevitable ruin upon themselves and the States in which they lived. Yet they neither heeded the admonitions of their own sense of wrong nor the warnings of their friends. They rushed into rebellion, and while they struck the traitor's blow with one arm, the other, with their voices, was raised to heaven in appeals for blessings upon themselves in the mission of blood on which they had embarked.

In the second part of this paper we have

shown that their hosts were conquered and disbanded, and, in the language of the correspondence between the opposing generals, "each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside." We have seen how soon their parole was forgotten and the laws disregarded. Instead of returning to forget the past, and aid in building up a devastated country, every possible impediment was placed in the way of a successful reconstruction of the seceded States; Ku-Klux and White League bands were organized to suppress, intimidate, and murder white and colored Republicans, on merely political grounds, and the work of the assassin has become so widespread and so thorough that it may be said:

"The land is full of blood; her savage birds
O'er human creatures do scream and batten;
The silent banner smokes not; in the field
The aged grandsire turns the joyous son;
Dark spirits are abroad, and gentle worth,
Within the narrow house of death, is laid
An early tenant."

Citizens are deprived of the opportunities of free schools for their children, and their school-houses are burned down by the hundred. If a Republican ventures to exercise his constitutional right to approach the ballot-box at a Federal, State, or municipal election he is from that hour a marked man, and he would ere long pay the cost of his venture by the forfeit of his life, or be compelled to escape from the country. Even in the great city of New Orleans, as well as elsewhere throughout that State, just prior to the last State election, murder and intimidation were practiced to a fearful extent upon Republican voters, while those who promised to vote the Democratic ticket were furnished with a written protection or printed "card of safety." The following statement, made by Senator Logan in his great speech in the United States Senate on the 13th and 14th of January, and fully confirmed by other testimony, is transferred with its death's head and cross bones from the *Congressional Record* of the 16th of that month:

"Now, I state it as a fact, and I appeal to the Senator from Louisiana to say whether or not I state truly, that on the night before

the election in Louisiana notices were posted all over that country on the doors of the colored Republicans and the white Republicans, too, of a character giving them to understand that if they voted their lives would be in danger; and here is one of the notices posted all over that country:



2 x 6

"This '2 x 6' was to show the length and width of the grave they would have. Not only that, but the negroes that they could impose upon and get to vote the Democratic ticket received, after they had voted, a card of safety; and here is that card issued to the colored people whom they had induced to vote the Democratic ticket, so that they might present it if any White Leaguers should undertake to plunder or murder them:

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 28, 1874.

This is to certify that Charles Durassa, a barber by occupation, is a member of the 1st Ward Colored Democratic Club, and that at the late election he voted for and worked in the interests of the Democratic candidates.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER,

President 1st Ward Col'd Democratic Club.

NICK HOPE, Secretary.

ROOMS DEMOCRATIC PARISH COMMITTEE,

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 28, 1874.

The undersigned Special Committee, appointed on behalf of the Parish Committee, approve of the above certificate.

ED. FLOOD, Chairman,

PAUL WATERMAN,

H. J. RIVET.

Attest:

J. H. HARDY, Ass't Sec. Parish Committee.

"These were the certificates given to negroes who voted the Democratic ticket, that they might present them to save their lives when attacked by the men commonly known as Klu Klux or White Leaguers in that country; and we are told that there is no intimidation in the State of Louisiana!"

With this review of the past rebellion and present condition of the South, we turn to a calm and dispassionate consideration of what appears to THE REPUBLIC to be

THE IMPERIOUS DUTY OF THE NEAR FUTURE.

The first necessity is to discover, South and North, that WE HAVE NOW NO CAUSE OF QUARREL. The duel has been fought, and bravely too, on either side. Both parties have been seriously wounded; but all differences were adjusted, according to the rules of war, under the apple tree at Appomattox Court-House. The parties separated under pledges of peace, and the earnest effort on both sides, and of every man and woman, South and North, should then have been, and ought now to be, for reconciliation. We are no longer a divided family. Our interests are one, and our objects and aims should all be conducted with a view to peace and harmony. We may differ in our opinions as political parties, but we have no quarrel, no cause for quarrel, and there is nothing to delay the consummation of a general and complete reconciliation between all the States of the Union. This may be accomplished in "half a year," as Senator Conkling claimed in his conciliatory and powerful speech in the United States Senate the other day, or in "sixty days," as Senator Howe remarked at the time. But, unless it is fully secured, *all good citizens, South and North, will insist upon the presence of a strong military police wherever life is insecure, and citizens, by intimidation or otherwise, are denied the full exercise of their constitutional rights.* "Let us have peace," at whatever cost it may be secured.

The next, and a most important duty will be to

PUT THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE HANDS OF THE ABLEST STATESMEN IN THE UNION.

And here the PEOPLE have a responsibility to meet which they cannot evade with impunity. Much of the serious embarrassment in which the country has recently been politically involved, and especially the complications in the South, have been caused by incompetent legislation. The country now—more perhaps than at any previous period—requires, in its Federal and State legislative halls, the knowledge, experience, and wisdom of our ablest statesmen. The intellect of the country has not degenerated, but the intellectual standard of men elected to watch over the public interests in the halls of legislation

has been lowered. Politics, to our injury, have been made a trade and barter affair, and the right men for places requiring experience and mature judgment are overlooked by the people or hustled aside by less well qualified and more ambitious aspirants—second and third-rate politicians, who have their own ends, rather than their country's welfare, to subserve; men whose patriotism is subservient to self-interest, and is prompted by no higher inspiration than personal advancement. John Bright remarked truly, the other day, in an open letter to a political friend, that he had always considered it degrading in a candidate for a seat in the British Parliament to engage in his own canvass. Is it not equally so for an aspirant to do the wire-pulling to secure his own nomination? The people are the proper judges of the qualifications required in their legislative representatives, and individuals who put themselves prominently forward for nomination, evince in that act an unfitness for the duties they aspire to discharge. We repeat, there are as able statesmen now in the country, and in every part of it, as at any former period, and it behooves the people to make a choice in all cases from among the best qualified, in every respect, to become their Federal and State representatives. That experienced veteran, Thurlow Weed, in an open letter to his old and warm political friend, V. W. Smith, written on the 30th of January, and published a few days ago, in view of the absence of legislative ability at the present time, said "the experience and teachings of a republican form of government prove nothing so alarmingly suggestive of and pregnant with danger as that cheap suffrage involves and entails cheap representation. But for the 'good time,' which it is to be hoped is 'coming,' we must wait patiently for a generation that will return to Congress such men as Henry Clay, and John J. Crittenden, from Kentucky; Daniel Webster and John Davis, from Massachusetts; Timothy Pitkin and Truman Smith, from Connecticut; George Evans, from Maine; Horace Everett, from Vermont; Albert H. Tracy, Francis Granger, Millard Fillmore, and Thomas C. Love, from New York; Samuel L. Southard and Theodore Freelinghuysen, from New Jer-

sey; John Sargent and Horace Binney, from Pennsylvania; John W. Clayton, from Delaware; Willie P. Mangum and Edward Stanly, from North Carolina; John Bell and Baile Peyton, from Tennessee; Elisha Whittlesey, Thomas Ewing, Joseph Vance, Thomas Corwin, and Samuel F. Vinton, from Ohio; and Edward Bates, from Missouri."

We believe there are as many able men in the country now as at any former period, and there need be no "waiting for a generation" to find them, if they are not already in Congress.

In the same letter, referring to the desired reconciliation and restoration of the South, he made an appeal to the old Whig element still remaining in that section of the country—an appeal which we hope may not be without good results. He said:

"I cherished the hope, when peace was restored, that the old Whigs of the South, some of whom reluctantly consented to secession, and nearly all of whom were forced into rebellion, would form a nucleus for reconstruction. There was a numerous band of enlightened and patriotic Whigs who resisted nullification, and who for ten or fifteen years afterwards, by boldly opposing the encroachments and aggressions of Southern Democrats, bridged over many dangers, and prevented a catastrophe until ultra men and malign counsels, North and South, precipitated secession and rebellion. The Union had no truer, or bolder, or more devoted friends, through all its political trials for twenty-five years, than the Whigs of the South, whose representative men were distinguished alike for talents, integrity, and patriotism. Prominent among these eloquent and earnest friends of the Union were William C. Preston, of South Carolina; William A. Graham, Lewis Williams, and Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina; John Taliaferro, Alexander H. H. Stuart, and John M. Botts, of Virginia; William C. Dawson, Thomas Butler King, and James L. Seward, of Georgia; John White and James T. Morehead, of Kentucky; Meredith P. Gentry, Christopher H. Williams, and Joseph L. Williams, of Tennessee. That Whig element bound Tennessee and Kentucky to the Union, and but for adverse influences would have held North Carolina and Virginia; thus so narrowing the boundaries of rebellion as to have greatly lessened its horrors. I am even yet unwilling to relinquish the hope that the Whig spirit of the South will reassert itself, and, uniting with congenial Northern sympathies, work out wholesome results."

But while wisdom, experience, and in-

tegrity are indispensable to successful legislation there is another element of gravest importance that must always be taken into consideration in the selection, as Disraeli has said, of the "right man for the right place," and that is, *the peculiar condition and special claims of the country at the present time.* And now as we are approaching the inauguration of a Presidential campaign and the election of Representatives in the Forty-fifth Congress, the people are called upon to decide the question—

WILL A DEMOCRATIC OR A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY BEST SUBSERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY?

In view of the peculiar condition of affairs in the South and the general condition of the political, financial, and industrial interests of the nation this interrogatory comes home with unusual force to every patriotic mind in the Union. In ordinary times, and on a smooth sea, the ship of State would sail on under a good captain and crew of either shade of politics. But the craft is now midway on a boisterous sea, with dangerous rocks and treacherous breakers on either side. Our martyred President was always opposed to swapping horses while crossing a river. It is less dangerous to change an experienced crew in mid-ocean for an inexperienced one.

The policy and principles of the two great national parties are pretty well known. It is equally well understood that on many of the great issues of the day their respective policies are directly opposed. In the reconstruction policy, on the requirements of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution, on the civil rights bill, the enfranchisement and the education of the five millions of colored citizens they are wholly, or in the main, opposed. There are individual exceptions, but we are now considering the general policy of each party. In illustration, note the laws passed by the Democratic party, as shown in the second part of this article, to practically re-enslave the freedmen after their freedom, under an overruling Providence, was granted by the instrumentality of a Republican President and a Republican Congress. Note

how the free schools in the South, organized by Republican effort, were closed, the teachers driven from the country, and the school-houses burned. Note also how Democratic Congressmen have persistently condoned crime in the South, abused the President for attempting to restore peace and safety to life, and denounced General Sheridan as "unfit to breathe the air of a Republic." This is not the work of Republicans; not an individual in the party ever attempted to deprive a colored man of his constitutional rights or burn a school-house because colored children were among its inmates.

The Democratic and the Republican parties are directly opposed to each other on the all-important tariff question. The Democrats are committed to free trade, while the Republicans are in favor of a tariff that will afford the necessary revenues to carry on the Government, so adjusted as to afford reasonable protection to our own industries against undue competition. A free trade policy at the present time would involve the Government in inevitable bankruptcy, or compel a return to direct taxation. Mr. Weed, in the letter from which we have already quoted, uses the following discriminating language:

"All you say on the subject of a protective tariff is historically true. I can never forget the high, prosperous, and palmy condition of our country under the benign influences of a wise protective tariff from 1818 until 1836, when the Democracy of the North, to strengthen and perpetuate its political affiliations with the South, began to agitate in favor of a 'judicious tariff.' During the administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams the welfare of our people and the strength of our Government were promoted and augmented by an enlightened national policy. All our interests moved forward harmoniously. All the industries of the country thrived. The farmer, the mechanic, the manufacturer, the merchant, the importer, and the capitalist found themselves working together with a reciprocal interest and to mutual advantage. While all our domestic occupations proved abundantly remunerative, our canvas—the canvas of our own well laden ships—whitened every ocean and sea. And amid all this individual prosperity and happiness, the nation was advancing by rapid strides to wealth and power."

And after a lengthy and thorough survey

of the situation, Mr. Weed arrives at the following conclusions :

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE PRESIDENCY.

"I do not believe it expedient or safe, with the existing organizations and proclivities of the Democracy, to intrust that party with supreme power. I do not say this in a partisan spirit, for at my time of life, and with the views and feelings I entertain and cherish, I desire nothing but to see the government of my country well and wisely administered. I should have learned little from the political ordeals through which I have passed, if, toward the close of a long life, I were to attribute all that is bad to one party, and all that is good to another. I would prefer the election of an enlightened and honest Democrat as President to the elevation of an incapable Republican of equivocal integrity.

* * * But with the purposes and passions of the Democracy, North and South, its nominee for President is not likely to belong to that category; and hence I ardently hope that the Republican party will so far reassure the people of its devotion to their prosperity and the welfare of our country as to be able to elect a capable, experienced, and inflexibly honest man as our next President."

In conclusion, THE REPUBLIC has endeavored faithfully and truthfully to present the causeless rebellion in its correct light, and to recount some of the great issues that have grown out of it, many of which are yet to be decided, and must be decided before the country can be restored to its wonted unity, harmony, and material prosperity. Whether the Republican or Democratic party can best meet the issues and successfully complete the work now in progress for the interest of the whole Union, is for the people to decide by their CENTENNIAL BALLOT. And he who neglects to thoroughly examine and weigh well the grave nature of the pending issues and the fitness of parties to meet them before he casts his vote for the nineteenth President of the United States and for Representatives in the Forty-fifth Congress and in the Legislature of his own State, fails to discharge aright the highest duty he owes to his country.

A SUDDEN turn has been given to English politics by the unexpected resignation by Mr. Gladstone of the position of leader in the Liberal party. In taking this important step,

Mr. Gladstone writes to Earl Granville as follows :

"The time has arrived when I ought to revert to my letter of March last." After reviewing a number of public and private considerations, Mr. Gladstone says: "I see no public advantage in my continuing to act as leader of the Liberal party. After forty-two years of laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire with the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated by personal views regarding the method of spending the closing years of my life. My conduct in Parliament will continue to be governed on the same principles as hitherto, and arrangements for the treatment of general business and to advance the convenience of the Liberal party will have my cordial support."

Mr. Gladstone's party associates and his constituents were surprised by the suddenness of his resignation. It is reported that his constituency will request him to retire from Parliament altogether. The Marquis of Hartington has been selected as the future leader of the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone is now in his sixty-sixth year, and during his long term of public service has been felt as a power for good to the extremities of the British Empire.

In 1872 the total quantity of grain shipped from the West to the East was 162,908,397 bushels. Of this, 53,569,594 bushels were shipped by the Erie canal, and 109,338,803 bushels by the railways extending from the lower lakes, or crossing the Alleghany range to the seaboard. The transportation of grain by rail has increased about 100 per cent. within the last five years.

DURING the five years from 1860 to 1864, inclusive, the imports of wheat into the United Kingdom from the United States amounted to 127,047,126 bushels, while the quantity imported from Russia amounted to 47,376,809 bushels. During the five years from 1868 to 1872, inclusive, the imports from the United States amounted to only 116,462,380 bushels, while the imports from Russia amounted to 117,967,022 bushels. It will be seen from this statement that the imports from the United States during the period last named decreased 10,584,746, while the imports from Russia increased 70,590,213 bushels.

REVIEW OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

[The following analytical paper, on the political platform of the New Hampshire Democratic party, will repay a careful perusal. As the political platforms of the party in each State are equally inconsistent, this review has a general as well as a local application.]

It will not not be unprofitable to study the following review of the specious professions of the Democracy as set forth in their State convention platform at Concord, January 5, 1875. The several planks are given in full that there may be no possible misrepresentation of their meaning, and they are treated in the order of their publication. The following is the first paragraph of the preamble:

"We, the Democracy of New Hampshire, in convention assembled, send greeting to our brethren in other States, and rejoice with them in the glorious result of the recent elections, presaging the deliverance of the country from the domination of Radical tyranny and corruption, under which it has suffered for the last fourteen years."

During "the last fourteen years" of "the domination of Radical tyranny and corruption" the Democratic party has had comparatively few opportunities for rejoicing. Still, the party has indulged in some jollification. It was made glad whenever the Union army met reverses. The first Bull Run disaster set them into a gleeful sneer of "I told you so." The Peninsular campaign brought the same self-satisfying expression into use. They smiled and ridiculed like boys at play when the Red River failure was announced. The piracies of the Alabama were a fruitful source of hopeful expectation. When Morgan was raiding in Indiana, when Lee leveled his field glass on the national Capitol and led his plundering army into Maryland and Pennsylvania, they said in their hearts "the days of the tyrant Lincoln are numbered." And finally, when the whole land was agonized with the slaughter and sufferings of a protracted and terrible war, the leaders of this party assembled in Chicago, and in the light of great bonfires, and

amid the booming of cannon and the echoing jubilee of their souls, wrote it in history that the war was a failure and ought to cease; the Republic was a failure and ought to cease! When it is repeated that to such and similar events have the rejoicings of the Democratic party been limited, since 1861, let no twingeing adversary presume to parry the blow by declaring "you are shaking the bloody shirt of the war which should now be forgotten." For such a declaration is of no avail. In this campaign the Democrats have, by their charge of "Radical, tyranny" "for the last fourteen years," opened the old record with all its bloody chapters, and it behooves every Republican to see to it that they have the full benefit of their reference.

In a speech at Bloomfield, Connecticut, during the war, Mr. Eaton, the new Democratic Senator from that State, uttered these words:

"Ten million of men understanding their right cannot be conquered, and I thank God for it. If any section is invaded every spear of grass will become the tombstone of the invader! If this be treason God knows I'll be a traitor as long as I live. *I thank God we had no more men at Manassas!*"

John H. George, at the Democratic convention in Concord, January 8, 1864, said:

"I am for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the present State and National administration. They are thieves, vandals, shoddyites. They and their supporters are not only stealing our property, but the great essential rights of civil liberty. We hear a great deal about people being 'war Democrats.' A war Democrat is a man who is resolved to war against the principles that through the Democracy have proved essential to the prosperity of the nation."

It is revolting to our better natures to recall such utterances, but such were the speeches that rent the air from the Democratic stump during those days of the nation's peril. But they are no more revolting to the heart beating with emotions common to enlightened humanity than is the "result" of the last elections which the New Hampshire Democracy call "glorious." Let

the elements of that "glorious result" be shown:

(1.) A proposition from English holders of Confederate bonds asking their payment by the United States.

(2.) The slaughter of over one hundred and fifty colored citizens at Vicksburg by White Leaguers.

(3.) The execution of the threat by the Democracy of Shreveport, La., before the election to drive from the community all who voted the Republican ticket, and thereby, according to the sworn statement of a United States officer, two thousand people of all ages and sexes have been rendered homeless, and are wandering about the country on the verge of starvation.

(4.) An invitation to every person who lost a slave by the war to furnish information of the fact that compensation may be obtained from Congress.

(5.) The introduction of a proposition in the Georgia Legislature to pension the rebel soldiers of the State.

(6.) The suspension of the common schools in Arkansas, whose illiterate persons over ten years of age in 1870 numbered 133,339.

(7.) A proposition by the Georgia editors, headed by the editor of the *Atlanta News*, to reorganize the Confederate regiments and "fill them to the maximum with the young men of the South, and thus form a large and powerful defensive force." In the warlike language of the editor, "such a force would enjoy immense prestige. The mere fact of its existence would put an end to our political troubles."

(8.) The passage of a law by the Arkansas Legislature making it grand larceny to steal two dollars in value, intending thereby to secure the disfranchisement by imprisonment of hundreds of poor colored voters rendered desperate by political persecution.

(9.) The election of over eighty unrepentant ex-rebel military or civil officers to the Forty-fourth Congress.

(10.) The conspiracy of Texas editors, led by the editor of the *Houston Mercury*, to organize another rebellion, as plainly expressed in the latter's paper of January 20, 1875. "The South has rights which must be respected. If they are ignored much

longer a separation from the North will become a question of vital necessity."

(11.) A bloody resolve by thousands of White Leaguers to exterminate the colored race, numbering four millions of souls.

(12.) The general revival throughout the South of ostracism and intolerance more terrible than the Spanish inquisition toward those who venture to exercise the freedom of speech as enjoyed in the North.

Such are some of the notorious facts which constitute the "glorious result" of the fall elections. Shades of Nero, upon whom have fallen the execrations of eighteen hundred years, arise and be comforted, for "the Democracy of New Hampshire, in convention assembled," in the nineteenth century "rejoice" over the misfortunes and miseries of four million negroes, as you did over those of the Romans!

The second and closing section of the preamble reads as follows:

"Reaffirming our allegiance to the Federal Constitution as the supreme law of the land, by which all powers not expressly delegated to the General Government by the States are reserved to the people, we make the following declaration of principles the basis of our political action."

"Our allegiance" to the Federal Constitution is good, considering the fact that this party has proved to the country, over and over again, that under "Radical tyranny" that sacred document has been utterly wiped out. And it is good for another reason, that from the hour the rebels fired on Fort Sumter till Lee gave up his sword, it was much safer to "stand by the Constitution" than where the soldiers did, by the Union guns and battle-flags. The fullest credit should be given to the grand army of war Democrats who bore the heat and burden of the fight, and without whose assistance the victory could have never been won. But upon the followers of President Buchanan and those who declared the war a failure, and who have since been shouting, through the trials of reconstruction, for the rights of the *States*, and have been heedless of the rights of the *citizen*, should fall the reproach of future generations. It is an "allegiance" to boast over indeed, to assemble in grumb-

ling crowds about the parchment of the Constitution, and howl for its protection, while State after State was going out of the Union, while fort after fort was being captured, while city after city was turned into a rebel camp, while battle after battle was being lost or won, and while thousands of our brothers and fathers were either starved or shot on the dead-line in a score of rebel prisons. If "we the Democracy of New Hampshire, in convention assembled," take pride in the reaffirmation of such "allegiance" to the Constitution, which was formed to secure a more perfect Union, there is not a spirit of the damned or saved who would interpose an objection.

The Democracy have had four great constitutional philosophers and teachers, namely, John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, James Buchanan, and Andrew Johnson. Calhoun taught us that the several States are sovereign, separate parties to the Constitution, without any common judge, each having a right to judge for itself respecting all infractions, and the mode and measure of redress; that a State could remain in the Union and disregard its constitutional obligations. Mr. Davis took up the cause when Calhoun died, and justified secession on the same ground, that the States are sovereign, and have a right to secede. Buchanan pronounced the Union "a rope of sand," and, "after much serious reflection," concluded that no power had been delegated to the Federal Government to "coerce" a State into submission to the Constitution. Johnson allowed a wider latitude of constitutional powers, especially to those of the Chief Executive, even to the extent of power to disperse the National Congress by force; for, while making a speech in Cleveland in 1866, on the infractions of the Constitution by Congress, one of his hearers suggested that he should "kick" out Congress, and Johnson promptly accepted the plan, and said, "I will kick them out," thus showing that he considered it constitutional to do to the national legislators with his boots what he would not allow a military officer to do to a revolutionary mob with bayonets. It may seem boyish to put stress on this threat, but the speaker, be it remembered, was the nation's Chief Executive, and

is now the Democratic Senator from Tennessee.

In dismissing this second paragraph of Democratic nonsense, it may only be repeated that no Republican envies the Democracy of any pride they may take in an "allegiance" which nurtured nullification, which could not restrain secession, which plunged the people into a terrible war, a frightful slaughter, and loaded the survivors with a debt most unbearable.

"First. Public officials to be held strictly accountable as the servants of the people; honesty and capacity the only tests for official position."

If the Democracy succeed to national authority and hold their officials strictly accountable for their frauds and misdeeds, it will be because they have learned to do so from Republicans, and not because of their custom under their former supremacy. The defalcations and frauds under Democratic administrations, from Monroe's to the close of Buchanan's, are the scandal of our political history. The defalcations and plunderings by the appointees of Andrew Johnson reached the highest known in our history—the incredible sum of \$1,755,660. The greatest municipal thief on record was the Democratic mayor of New York, who increased the debt of the city from 1869 to 1871 at the rate of \$1,875,663 03 per month, or \$2,574 24 *every hour!* And what party administered justice to Tweed and to Johnson's thieves? The Republican party, through Republican judges and Republican lawyers. And I call attention to the fact that since President Grant relieved the public service of Johnson's appointees, and especially since the beginning of his second administration, there have been less official fraud and embezzlement than in the same number of years since the days of Washington and Adams.

Those who read the second clause of the paragraph under consideration will surely exclaim, "It is not in resolutions and platforms that we find the principles and purposes of parties!" What New Hampshire Democrat dare assert that the judges of the late Supreme Judicial Court of the State, that the clerks of the several circuits, that the sheriffs of the several counties were not gen-

tle men of honesty, and of a capacity fitting their respective positions?

It is well known that the Democracy of New Hampshire are astonishingly gullible, and that their peace orators during the war found it an easy task to prove to the former's satisfaction that the great Lincoln was either a knave or a fool, and that every Union victory was a failure or an accident; but it is seriously doubted that anyone dare undertake to justify their revolutionary course toward the Supreme Court and its assisting officers, on the ground of dishonesty or incompetency. Nor can they justify their course on the ground of economy and certainty and speed in securing justice, for the bar of the State pronounces the change both dilatory and expensive. The breath of a thief is deception. If the Democracy speak in their creeds, the fountain of their principles, like Ananias and Sapphira, will they not play the Judas when they hold the bag?

"Second. No Congressional usurpations; no Executive dictation; no military intimidation. The people of each State to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

When the Democracy were in national authority, and enacted slave laws and brought to bear the army to force the people of the free States to catch fleeing slaves and return them to chains and cruelties; when the colored voters of New Hampshire and other Northern States employed on vessels entering Southern ports were thrust into prison by municipal authority, and sold into slavery in default of prison charges; when these outrages were practiced the Democracy of New Hampshire raised not a cry of "Congressional usurpations," "Executive dictation," and "military intimidation."

As for the second clause, the true rendering is this, "The *white* Democrats of each Southern State to regulate *their* own affairs in *their* own way, regardless of the colored people and white Republicans, whose number is indisputably a majority in a fair election in every Southern State, and overwhelmingly so in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Arkansas."

This last clause is the most subtle, the most

dangerous, of any in the platform; for upon its face shines the light of patriotism and purity of political motive and action; but as construed and applied by a vast majority of the Democratic party, the very enemy of our flag and our freedom has a hiding-place in every word. And the deeds already done and words already spoken by the bolder friends, and those under less restraint than the cunning and sophistical writer of the platform, justify the most serious apprehensions:

1st. The Democratic leaders are pledged by every instinct in their nature, by every syllable in their history, to strip the colored people of their power, to treat them as a political nonentity, and hold them forever, not as property, as heretofore, but as menials—degraded, ignorant, and helpless. And when this is done "the dignity of labor" will be a by-word and a reproach throughout the land. The tyranny of caste will reign supreme. The skilled laborer of New Hampshire will be sneered at as the greasy mechanic and mud-sill; the manual laborer will everywhere be branded with disgrace, as was Cain.

In the South a color-line is to mark and separate every political and civil right. It is to stand like the great gulf between the damned and the saved. Virginia made it the issue in the last two State elections. Georgia has drawn the distinction in all her elections as malignantly and cruelly as she did the dead-line around our starving soldiers. Alabama and Arkansas have done the same. In Texas the colored children have been ignored entirely in the State school privileges, while the adults are treated merely like two-legged animals of only a trifle more consequence, on account of language, than the four-legged species. In Delaware, even, there has never existed a State law or a popular sentiment among the Democrats in favor of educating the blacks; and to this day they are scourged at the public whipping-posts, as in the reign of slavery. In Louisiana the White League, as its name imports, is organized for the purpose of subjugating the blacks by force and violence. The entire Southern Democratic press have continually cried "Down with the nigger! This is a white man's Govern-

ment!" and their Northern organs have said amen. At a great convention of Georgia planters, at Atlanta, recently, a Mr. W. D. Murry explained his manner of dealing with the negro as follows: "I have practiced whipping some of my negroes lately, and I always make the victims promise not to prosecute me, while the chastisement is going on. In this way I manage to keep my negroes under perfect control." Such is the humiliation to which the laborer is subjected. Let the doubting read the following statement of the future fate of the negro, as found in the minority report of the Ku Klux committee to the Forty-second Congress, and signed by Senators Frank P. Blair (late Democratic candidate for the vice presidency) and T. F. Bayard, and Representatives S. S. Cox, James B. Beck, P. Van Trump, A. M. Waddell, J. C. Robinson, and J. M. Hanks. Its purport is substantially as follows:

But while the negroes of the South have position and power in the administration of public affairs now, who can say, who can look into the future so clearly as to enable him to say how long this unnatural state of things will last? That it *must end somehow* in the distant future no philosophic thinker can doubt. It is altogether too abnormal, too much opposed to the *instinctive feeling*, some will say prejudices, of the white race to endure beyond the peculiar condition of popular opinion brought about by a war prosecuted in the end for freedom.

This will be brought about by one of two things: either by a *rupture* of the Government itself or the springing up of some new and all-powerful party out of the ruins of the existing political organizations. When either of these two things shall occur it will be the *political death* of the negro on this continent. The inevitable tendency will be to *segregate him from the white race*, and if not transported to some other country he will slowly but surely pass away like the aborigines, and *his place among us, like that of the Indian, will be known no more forever*.

Here is a theme for the pulpit, for every believer in eternal justice. Shall those words escape the ear of the God who heard

the cry of his children in the wilderness and who visited his wrath upon a Pharaoh? Has one of the two great political parties in this land of the free forgotten the story of the Samaritan, of Dives and Lazarus, and the great command, Love thy neighbor as thyself? But such is the solemn judgment of the leaders of the Democratic party upon a race whose brave men mingled their blood with our fathers' in the two terrible wars with England; upon a race who have built up the vast wealth of the South by servile and unrequited labor for two hundred years; upon a race who could have taken vengeance upon their oppressors, but who tilled their lands and fed their families while the former were warring upon the Government and the army which finally freed them; upon a race who when free and allowed to fight shared all the horrors of the struggle which saved the flag and the nation; upon a race who in bondage, in war, in peace, in freedom, in the school, in oratory, in the field, in the shop, and every station wherein they have been tried, have extorted praise from even the prejudiced, and proved that they as well as we are entitled to the sacred and inalienable rights—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness! But their old masters and the latter's political associates have pronounced the dark and bloody judgment that they must be segregated from the whites and must surely pass away, and their places be known no more forever, and this because their skin is black.

2d. There is still another true rendering of this clause, *i. e.*, "The white people of each State to regulate their own affairs in their own way, subject only to the Constitution as they may interpret or alter it."

We have boasted much that State sovereignty was one of the political heresies silenced forever by the war. Heaven knows it ought to have been wiped out, and all similar dangerous doctrines, but such is not the case. The old State rights or State sovereignty fallacies of Calhoun, Davis, and Buchanan have their organs and advocates in New Hampshire and every other State. When the secessionists wrote their constitution they adopted a part of the preamble of

the one against which they had rebelled, but instead of saying "We, the people of the" Confederate States, "in order to form a more perfect Union, &c., they gave prominence to the State sovereignty doctrine as follows: "We, the people of the Confederate States, *each State acting in its sovereign and independent character*, in order to form a permanent *Federal Government*," &c. That is the Democratic rendering of the purpose of our own Constitution to-day. Farther, the Southern wing of the Democracy and the party, as a whole, in many of the States, have continually treated the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution as open political questions. The *Memphis Appeal* has boldly declared that—

"When we assert that the Constitutional amendments, except the thirteenth, are odious and will be rescinded whenever a convention of the States or absolute Democratic power in the Government may render the consumption possible, we tell the simple, unvarnished truth. * * * We are for the lawful repeal of unlawful mockeries of Constitutional law."

Senator Thurman has repeatedly declared, and definitely so on April 23d, 1872, that the Constitutional amendments were things the Democrats submitted to because they could not help themselves. He had said and always would say that the amendments were passed by fraud and violence.

Senator Hamilton, of Maryland, in the late discussion on Louisiana, pronounced the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as clearly unconstitutional. "But," he said, "I stand by them in good faith *until they have been fairly tested and fully tried*." When they are to be tried and tested he did not state, but that he and his party are bound to have it done is a certainty. In the same debate, Senator Ransom, of North Carolina, whose entrance into the Senate in 1873 filled the last seat made vacant in Congress by the secessionists in 1861, pronounced the work of giving political rights to the freedmen as unconstitutional. He said:

"The truth is, Mr. President, that the Government of the United States was not framed, was not organized, was not carried into practical effect for the purpose of *conferring suffrage* upon anybody, for any purpose."

Again: Treason has never troubled the consciences of the Southern people, and they have fought bitterly and persistently to the end all reconstruction measures which discriminated against traitors. Their attitude was frankly and truthfully confessed by Mr. Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, in one of his philippics on the situation, when he said: "The complying accept, the resolute reject, none approve, while *all despise*."

Alexander H. Stephens declared, just at the close of the war, that what they had lost on the field they would recover in Congress, even as Cromwell's rebellion succeeded in the revolution.

Jefferson Davis has always boasted that he never intends to accept the situation. In a speech at Atlanta, he says:

"I am not of those who 'accept the situation.' I accept nothing. These cant phrases that we hear so much of about 'accepting the situation' and about our rights having been submitted to the 'arbitrament of the sword,' are but the excuses of cowards."

In another speech he gave his hearers assurance that, sooner or later, what they had lost would be restored. Said he: "Forbear for a season, and a day will come when all will yet be well." And this is the day which a controlling majority of the Democratic party are preparing and longing for; the day when every vestige of reconstruction laws, looking to the elevation of the blacks, and the dignity of labor, and the protection of the loyal shall be wiped out forever; the day when the South shall be relieved of all taxation to pension our Union soldiers and pay the war debt; the day when the South can control the ballot and free speech by violence and intimidation without molestation, as in the days previous to the war; the day when the masses shall be held in ignorance, and the light of the free school shall be extinguished forever. That is the end and aim of a great majority of the Democracy. As late as June 12, 1872, the Democracy of Indiana declared in convention that all the political rights and franchises which had been lost through the late bloody convulsion should and must be promptly restored and re-established. The pledges made by the Democracy during the last Presidential

campaign, that all political rights acquired by the war shall forever remain undisturbed, were simply wicked prevarications, so far as the majority of that party are concerned. And here what has been said before should be repeated—that there are now, as there were all through the war, thousands of Democrats who are for equal rights and justice to all, high or low, and who look upon rebellion as a crime; but they are not the controlling forces of their party. The election to the Senate of Eaton, of Connecticut, who vowed he would be a traitor as long as he lived; of McDonald, of Indiana, who was a member of the Golden Circle, and of Cockrel, of Missouri, a rebel guerrilla general, against Schurz, whom they had used as a tool, all prove that the Vallandigham men of the North and Jeff. Davis men of the South are the dictators in the party. That Presidential campaign was one monster game of false pretenses, a “waiting race,” because it was believed to be the surest, in the end, of restoration and victory.

The same game had been played in the State elections of Missouri, Tennessee, and Virginia, and the pretenders hoped through Greeley to hoodwink the entire people. The Democracy of Mississippi, in their convention resolutions of June 26, 1872, declared “That to defeat the *Administration* of President Grant * * we are prepared to lay down all prejudices.” The Democracy of Texas, speaking through their State committee, August 15, 1871, showed that they were also ready to lay down their prejudices, if thereby they could gain their stealthy purposes, for, said they, “we will *yield* obedience to the Constitution and laws.” So it is with the Northern Democracy. They have, in the language of Senator Thurman, submitted to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments because thus far they could not help themselves. The Democracy of the three great States, New York, New Jersey, and Indiana sought through their State Legislatures to withdraw a previous ratification of the fifteenth amendment.

The Indiana resolution declared:

“That the pretended ratification of the fifteenth amendment proposed to the Constitution of the United States on the part of the

State of Indiana was and is null and void,” and seventy-six Democratic members voted for its adoption, March 13, 1871.

Again, in the National House of Representatives, on February 5, 1872, a resolution was presented reaffirming the several Constitutional amendments, and declaring that “public policy demands of all political parties and all citizens an acquiescence in the validity of such Constitutional provisions, and such reasonable legislation of Congress as may be necessary to make them, in their letter and spirit, most effectual.” On a ye and nay vote it appears that fifty-eight Democrats voted in the negative and only seven in the affirmative, while the remaining members of that party refused to commit themselves. In the light of the above events and utterances has not the true rendering of the clause in question been given, *i. e.*, that the white people of each State shall regulate their affairs in their own way, subject only to the Constitution as they may *interpret or alter it*? Are not these Constitutional amendments open political questions with the majority of the Democracy, and has not that majority thus far overridden and ruled the minority who would accept the results of the war, and accord equal rights to all? And the day, to use the language of Senator Hamilton, for “testing” the Constitutional amendments will not be delayed one hour beyond that which marks Democratic ascendency. If the Democracy elect a President two years from now, the test will be made then. Until then, they will dissemble and deceive and deal in glittering generalities. Referring last November to this point, and to the contemplated revolutionary acts of their associates, the Atlanta (Georgia) *Herald*, the organ of the rebel General Gordon, now a United States Senator, utters a warning about speaking at present too loud and plainly. Here are its words:

“If we commence talking of impeaching Grant, as a paper of this city has already done, or of reducing the representation of the New England States to one Senator apiece, as another paper has done, or of demanding that the Confederate war debt shall be paid, as yet another ardent driver of the quill has suggested—if these things are talked about the people of the North will see to it that a

quietus is at once put upon *the discussion*. *

* * The truth is, the Democratic party, for the next two years, should run 'a waiting race.' It should be cautious, prudent, and moderate. Let the people COMPLETE THE REVOLUTION BEFORE we issue any startling edicts. Don't let us betray any unseemly haste to *snatch the scepter that a coy public seems about to offer.*"

They can *snatch the scepter* in one of two ways by adopting an amendment to the Constitution, making it Constitutional for the States to withdraw their ratifications as was attempted in three Northern States, or by re-organizing the Supreme Court, and appointing judges who will sustain a withdrawal by the States of their ratifications without first securing an amendment as in the first instance. And the Democracy of New Hampshire have already set an example for this judicial revolution. There will be 85 ex-rebel military and civil officers in the next Congress whose purposes and wishes have been correctly outlined in the above extract from the leading journal of Georgia. Patriots of New Hampshire, be on your guard! The negro is to be reduced to peonage! The results of the terrible war are to be nullified! Farmers and mechanics, it is upon you and your occupations that the resultant shadow of disgrace will inevitably fall!

"Third. An economical Administration and an honest currency, the only assurance of national prosperity. No more financial sham Congressional legislation; specie payments are the demand of the people."

This anxiety for an economical Administration and an honest currency comes with great force from a party which has increased the expenditures of New Hampshire in every Legislature under its control, which has raised the salaries of its State officials in Texas, which has failed to pay the last two semi-annual interest indebtedness on its bonds in Tennessee, and from a party from which has come repeated threats to repudiate the national as it did the Mississippi debt. The Democracy are unequaled in ability to write platforms to suit localities.

If this third plank had been prepared for the Indiana, Missouri, or Wisconsin Democracy, the "demand of the people" for "specie payments" would not have been so

emphatic. But the Democracy can claim no originality, no credit in securing a return to specie payment. The tendency of Republican legislation has been steadily in that direction. And finally a law has been passed providing a definite date—1879, the earliest and most practicable for all sections—when specie payment shall be resumed. If the Democracy are for specie payments why have they clamored through all these years for the payment of the 5.20 and other bonds in greenbacks, and why did every member of their party in Congress, except Schurz and Fenton (nominally Liberal Republicans but practically Democrats) vote against the bill above mentioned?

The Democracy rant and rage over the expenditures of the Government, never forgetting to contrast the aggregate expenditures of to-day with those of 1860, but they never mention the fact that the great increase in expenditures grew out of the war brought on by the Southern wing of their party. They keep out of sight the relative proportion of business and labor to be transacted, the only true criterion in public as well as private business. They will not tell you that in 1860 we had thirty-one States, and that now we have thirty-seven; that then we had five organized Territories, and now we have nine; that then we had 30,000,000 of people, and now we have over 40,000,000.

No, they will not tell you that, aside from the extraordinary expenses growing out of the Democratic war, the civil expenses of the Government have been less under the present Republican administration by twenty-one cents *per capita* than under that of Buchanan. They will not tell you the truth.

Fourth. A tariff for revenue; no taxes upon the masses for the aggrandizement of the few.

This 'basis of our political action' is of so little serious consequence to the Democratic conscience that they dropped it from their platform altogether three years ago, and voted for Horace Greeley, the very prince of protectionists. This declaration is simply a two-faced juggle. In the face of it we substitute the following expression, of unmistakable import, from the pen of Horace

Greeley, in the *Tribune* of August 18, 1871: "A Democratic triumph involves the ascendancy of those who hate the nation's creditors, because their money powerfully contributed to the overthrow of the rebellion, and will find a way to cheat them, if possible. A Democratic triumph involves the subversion of protection to our home-industry, with a repetition of the widespread disasters and distresses which have repeatedly and naturally followed such overthrow."

"Fifth. Free speech, a free press, and religious toleration and freedom in all things not inconsistent with the public good."

Here, superficially, is a glimpse of progress, for "the Democracy of New Hampshire in convention assembled" in the days of Frank Pierce uttered not a word for free speech. Then such a demand would have been pronounced "incendiarism, abolitionism." In those days, if the people held meetings to express their sentiments on the barbarities of slavery, as they have now been urged to do respecting the action of the troops in New Orleans, they would have been charged with interfering with State rights or damned as disunionists.

In truth, however—as is shown by the threats and attempts made upon the lives of the editors of the few Republican papers surviving in the South, and as is shown by the fact that the newsboys in New Orleans dare not sell the Republican daily of that city except secretly, there is no such a thing as free speech and free press among the Southern Democracy.

"Sixth. Rotation in office is essential to the preservation of republican institutions. No third presidential term."

Such rotation, of course, as the Democracy have effected in the New Hampshire judiciary, in all the State offices of Texas, Arkansas, and such as they attempted in Louisiana. The truth is so plainly spoken in this first clause and has been so fully illustrated in the three historic cases already cited that we will not occupy space in further elucidation. As for "no third Presidential term," that was put in to fill up. The proposition is no more entertained by the Republican than by the Democratic party, and owes its origin to the hoax editor

of New York who published the cruel sensation about the ravages of a hundred wild animals among the women and children of that city.

"Seventh. The public lands and the public funds are the property of the whole people; no more subsidies in lands or money for the benefit of individuals or corporations at the expense of the people."

Here is a brazen attempt at deception. The Democracy would have the people believe that the Republicans have been squandering the public domain, and they would have the people believe that the Democratic party is the only one in whose hands the public lands can be safely trusted. The legislative record shows, however, that the Democracy inaugurated the policy of appropriating public lands to railroads, and that from 1850 to 1861, when the Democracy were in control of every branch of the Government, 93,677,212 acres were granted, of which 33,677,212 acres were for the benefit of railroads and canals.

On their accession to power the Republicans continued this policy, after first interposing the homestead law, which gave the poor people of the country who would become actual settlers a priority and an advantage over the speculators and monopolists. But in neither period, that under the control of the Democracy, nor that under the Republicans, were any grants made by a partisan vote, both parties voting for and against in about an equal ratio. Immediately after the grants to the continental lines of railway (when Congress was three-fourths Republican) it was contended that the policy should be discontinued, and a resolution to that effect was unanimously adopted. As late as May 11, 1872, the discontinuance of land-grants was reaffirmed by the adoption of the following resolution without a division:

"Resolved, That in the judgment of this House the policy of granting subsidies in public lands to railroad and other corporations ought to be discontinued, and that every consideration of public policy and equal justice to the whole people requires that the public lands should be held for the purposes of securing homesteads to actual settlers, and for educational purposes, as may be provided by law."

"Eighth. Equal and exact justice to all;

protection for the people against any and all encroachments of corporate power and capital; protection for corporations in their chartered rights."

"Equal and exact justice to all" was thus worded on the banners under which the Democracy went before the country in the Presidential campaign:

"We recognize the equality of all before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political."

That is the crow which the Democracy swallowed to beat the Republicans. They have since spewed it out of their mouths and rejected it altogether. On the 5th of February, when the civil rights bill, which allows a colored man, who has occasion to travel on his own or anyone's else business, to ride in the cars and take food and rest at hotels, if he pays for the same, was pending in the House General Shanks, of Indiana, sought to add this resolution from the Democratic platform of 1872 to the bill as preamble, and twenty-six Democrats voted stoutly against it, and every Democrat in the House voted against the bill on its passage, which merely enacts into a law the spirit and principles of the resolution. In this rejection of their own party motto is the most unmistakable evidence of Democratic treachery, and the most startling proof of what has already been asserted that the negro is to be thrust back into serfdom, and the Constitutional amendments obliterated. When the Democratic leaders shall stand by their guarantee of justice and equal rights to the negro, some faith can be put in their pledges to do justice as between the people and corporations. And not till then.

"Ninth. Honest legislation in State and nation the only safeguard of popular liberty; the lobby, the worst enemy of a free government."

Through Tweed, of New York, through the crowd of conspirators, who, in the language of ex-Senator Yulee, kept the "hands of Buchanan tied" till they had consummated their treason, and through the flock of harlots who manipulated Johnson in the interest of pardon-brokerage and treason, the Demo-

cratic party are well qualified to judge of dishonest legislation and the lobby, and we leave it with them to measure their effect upon popular liberty and free government.

"Tenth. Prohibition fails to suppress intemperance. A stringent license law, fairly enforced, is the only remedy for that growing evil."

As in the case of the lobby so in this, the Democracy are the best judges of bad whisky. On this point also, the same as respecting the finances, they write their resolutions to suit the locality. Were this intended for Kentucky, or North Carolina, they would have said "Free rum, forever." Here is the expression of the North Carolina Democracy in their convention of May 1, 1872:

"2. That the present system of internal taxes on spirits and tobacco is vexatious and tyrannical, and ought forthwith to be abolished."

"Eleventh. Resolved, That the present Federal Administration, backed by the Radical majority in Congress, by its persistent violation of the Constitutional rights of the States and the people, and especially by its interference in the governmental affairs of the State of Louisiana, to defeat the will of the people and uphold a corrupt and usurping government, by the constant prostitution of all its powers to promote the base purposes of self-aggrandizement and partisan supremacy, has merited, as it has received, the emphatic condemnation of the people."

The Republicans of New Hampshire, and posterity likewise, will refer to brave Phil Sheridan's report on the White League outrages in Louisiana, and their plot to overthrow the State government, instead of the history of the case as set forth in the above resolution. We will not attempt to review the affair here, but refer the reader to the speeches of Senators Logan, Conkling, Pease, and West for a clear and unanswerable review of the whole subject. Senator West's speech deals specially with the whitewashing report of Foster, Phelps, and Potter, and shows how utterly one-sided and incomplete their statements are.

Let no man charge the Republican party with fellowship with Phelps. Ever since his entrance into Congress he has been a continual grumbler and totally at variance with the party's vital principles respecting the South. When his attitude on the South be-

came known among his constituents in New Jersey, the colored people, numbering nearly a thousand strong, in his district turned their forces against him and defeated him, wiping out the great majority by which he was originally elected. Potter is a strong and leading Democrat. Foster has been a straight Republican, but has never had occasion to acquaint himself with the subtlety of the Southerners and especially the wealthy. Many a Northern man visiting those people temporarily, has allowed himself to be placed under so many personal obligations that he could neither see clearly the real attitude of affairs nor express an impartial opinion respecting them. This and the fact that there was no attempt at a thorough investigation of the affairs as has been done by the full committee, whose report will soon be made, is the only excuse for Foster's signing the report.

Let two facts ever be borne in mind in this perplexing Louisiana case, namely, that if the Republicans are guilty of frauds down there the Democrats were their teachers, and that if the United States troops interfered without warrant, they learned how from McClellan. The election frauds in the Polk campaign are infamous in political history. The Whigs had carried Louisiana in the State election a few days previous to the Presidential election. In the great excitement the afterward distinguished rebel, John Slidell, made a bet with General Barrow that Polk would carry the State against Clay. Slidell at once set about to win his bet by shipping two boat loads of the roughest New Orleans bullies to Plaquemine, under the order to vote early and *often*. The election came off, and Plaquemine, whose total vote had never exceeded 350, gave a majority of 970 for Polk, and secured the electoral vote of the State for the latter by 690, notwithstanding the previous Whig victory. A venerable chronicler of the event, who has just passed to his long home, says: "All votes were required to be handed in unfolded, and if any one was for the Whig candidates for electors, it was, if possible, rejected. It was *dangerous* for a Whig to be on the ground."

In regard to the example of McClellan, we beg the Democracy to read the following order respecting the arrest of the State Legis-

lature of Maryland, made by the man upon whom the Democracy conferred their highest honors in 1864, and to a man whom they made haste to send to Congress from Massachusetts not ten months ago. If there is one order on our military record which breathes the spirit of stealth and darkness this is it:

(Confidential.)

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

WASHINGTON, September 12, 1861.

Major General N. P. Banks, U. S. A.:

GENERAL: After full consultation with the President, Secretaries of State, War, &c., it has been decided to effect the operation proposed for the seventeenth. Arrangements have been made to have a government steamer at Annapolis to receive the prisoners and carry them to their destination. Some four or five of the chief men in the affair are to be arrested to-day. When they meet on the seventeenth you will please have everything prepared to arrest the whole party, and be sure that none escape. It is understood that you arrange with General Dix and Governor Seward the *modus operandi*. It has been intimated to me that the meeting might take place on the fourteenth; please be prepared. I would be glad to have you advise me frequently of your arrangements in regard to this very important matter. If it is successfully carried out it will go far toward breaking the backbone of the rebellion. It would probably be well to have a special train quietly prepared to take the prisoners to Annapolis. I leave this exceedingly important affair to your tact and discretion, and have but one thing to impress upon you—the absolute necessity of secrecy and success. With the highest regard, I am, my dear General, your sincere friend,

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,

Major General, U. S. A.

For this order, at the time, McClellan was denounced by Democrats as an "assassin of State rights and a usurper of our liberties." "He it was," said another, "*who first initiated* the policy by which our liberties were stricken down."

We will close this review with a single reference to a point in the beginning, namely: that in the judgment of the Democracy the light of our liberties was extinguished long ago, and that since then we have been groping in the black eclipse of an absolute despotism. Strange enough this was the case when the Democracy themselves were in supreme authority, and that, too, as far back as ten

long years before the womb of the future brought forth the child of Republicanism. In his great speech on the compromise bill, just twenty-five years ago the 4th of the coming March, Calhoun bade adieu to our once free government in these words: "What was

once a Constitutional Federal Republic is now converted in reality into one as absolute as that of the autocrat of Russia, and as despotic in its tendency as any absolute government that ever existed."

How strange that we still survive!

A VOICE FROM THE PAST.

We commend to the attention of the Democratic press and leaders the following extract from the speech delivered by Thomas H. Benton in the United States Senate a few weeks before the close of the second term of Andrew Jackson. The description given by Benton of the unjust attacks upon President Jackson applies with equal force to the fierce partisan attacks now being made on President Grant. Had the Missouri Senator been gifted with prophetic vision he could not have described more faithfully the present Democratic arraignment of President Grant. Democracy could do no greater service to the country than to keep this extract from the speech of an honest Democrat before the eyes of its degenerate followers. If it had no other effect, it would at least remind them that the present Executive is not the first President that has been—in the language of Benton—"lawlessly and shamelessly tried and condemned by rivals and enemies without hearing, without defense, without the forms of law or justice." It might also teach them that their efforts to blacken the name and fame of President Grant will be no more successful than the efforts made thirty-eight years ago to blacken the name and fame of President Jackson. Mr. Benton said:

"Never has any man entered upon the chief magistracy of a country under such appalling predictions of ruin and woe! Never has any one been so pursued with direful prognostications! Never has any one been so beset and impeded by a powerful combination of political and moneyed confederates! Never has any one, in any country where the administration of justice has risen above the knife or the bow-string, been so lawlessly and shamelessly tried and condemned by rivals and enemies, without hearing, without defense, without forms of law or justice!

"History has been ransacked to find examples of tyrants sufficiently odious to illustrate him by comparison. Language has been tortured to find epithets sufficiently strong to paint him in description. Imagination has been exhausted in her efforts to deck him with revolting and inhuman attributes. Tyrant, despot, usurper; destroyer of the liberties of his country; rash, ignorant, imbecile; endangering the public peace with all foreign nations; destroying domestic prosperity at home; ruining all industry, all commerce, all manufactures; annihilating confidence between man and man; delivering up the streets of populous cities to grass and weeds, and the wharves of commercial towns to the encumbrance of decaying vessels; depriving labor of all reward; depriving industry of all employment; destroying the currency; plunging an innocent and happy people from the summit of felicity to the depths of misery, want, despair.

"Such is the faint outline, followed up by actual condemnation, of the appalling denunciations daily uttered against this one man, from the moment he became an object of political competition down to the concluding moment of his political existence.

"The sacred voice of inspiration has told us that there is a time for all things. There certainly has been a time for every evil that human nature admits of to be vaticinated of President Jackson's administration; equally certain the time has come for all rational and well-disposed people to compare the predictions with the facts, and to ask themselves if these calamitous prognostications have been verified by events?

* * * * *

"So beneficent and so glorious has been the administration of this President, that where to begin, and where to end, in the enumeration of great measures, would beth the embarrassment of him who has his eulogy to make. He came into office the first of generals; he goes out the first of statesmen. His civil competitors have shared the fate of his military opponents; and Washington city has been to the American politicians who have assailed him what New Orleans was to

British generals who attacked his lines! Repulsed! driven back! discomfited! crushed! has been the fate of all assailants, foreign and domestic, civil and military. At home and abroad the impress of his genius and of his character is felt. He has impressed upon the age in which he lives the stamp of his arms, of his diplomacy, and of his domestic policy. In a word, so transcendent have been the merits of his administration that they have operated a miracle upon the minds of his most inveterate opponents. He has expunged their objections to military chieftains! He has shown them that they were mistaken; that military men were not the dangerous rulers they had imagined, but safe and prosperous conductors of the vessel of State.

* * * * *

"Great has been the opposition to President Jackson's administration; greater, perhaps, than ever has been exhibited against any government, short of actual insurrection and forcible resistance. Revolution has been proclaimed! and everything has been done that could be expected to produce revolution. The country has been alarmed, agitated, convulsed. From the Senate Chamber to the village bar-room, from one end of the continent to the other, denunciation, agitation, excitement, has been the order of the day. For eight years the President of this Republic has stood upon a volcano, vomiting fire and flames upon him, and threatening the country itself with ruin and desolation, if the people did not expel the usurper, despot, tyrant, as he was called, from the high place to which the suffrages of millions of freemen had elevated him.

"Great is the confidence which he has always reposed in the discernment and equity of the American people. I have been accustomed to see him for many years, and under many discouraging trials; but never saw him doubt, for an instant, the ultimate support of the people. It was my privilege to see him often, and during the most gloomy period of the panic conspiracy, when the whole earth seemed to be in commotion against him, and when many friends were faltering and stout hearts were quailing before the raging storm which bank machinations and Senatorial denunciations had conjured up to overwhelm him. I saw him in the darkest moments of this gloomy period, and never did I see his confidence in the ultimate support of his fellow citizens forsake him for an instant. He always said the people would stand by those who stand by them; and nobly have they justified that confidence!

* * * * *

"It is not for me to attempt to do justice to the Administration of President Jackson;

it is not for ordinary men to attempt its history. His military life, resplendent with dazzling events, will demand the pen of a nervous writer; his civil administration, replete with scenes which have called into action so many and such various passions of the human heart, and which has given to native sagacity so many victories over practiced politicians, will require the profound, luminous, and philosophical conceptions of a Livy, a Plutarch, or a Sallust. This history is not to be written in our day. The cotemporaries of such events are not the hands to describe them. Time must first do its office—must silence the passions, remove the actors, develop consequences, and canonize all that is sacred to honor, patriotism, and glory. In after ages the historic genius of our America shall produce the writers which the subject demands—men far removed from the contests of this day, who will know how to acquire an immortality for their own names by painting with a master's hand the immortal events of the patriot President's life."

How truly appropriate to the life and character of President Grant are these prophetic words of Benton. The picture of Jackson, drawn by his faithful friend, is the picture of Grant sketched by the loyal millions of America. The voice of party malice, the threats of Confederate hatred, the clamor of rivals, and the fierce denunciation of enemies cannot change the judgment long since pronounced by the American people on the unselfish patriotism of Ulyses S. Grant. The central figure around which the people gathered during the dark days of the rebellion, the leader of the grandest armies of modern times, the tried soldier whose courage and humanity have won the world's applause, the true citizen whose peaceful victories proclaim him as great in peace as he was in war, is yet too near the scene of his labors and the field of his triumphs to have justice done his exalted character. In the language of Benton, "Time must first do its office—must silence the passions, remove the actors, develop consequences, and canonize all that is sacred to honor, patriotism, and glory." As Jackson stood unmoved amid the tempest of political hate which swept around his post of duty, and relied with sublime confidence on the support of his fellow-citizens, so President Grant stands to-day, unmindful of the partisan assaults made upon him, firm in

purpose, strong in faith, fearless in the discharge of his duty, and as conscious of the ultimate approval of the American people as when he faced the guns of Vicksburg or led his victorious army to the final surrender of Lee.

It is this confidence in the people, whose power he has felt, whose patriotism he has tried, whose courage he has tested, whose great sacrifice he has witnessed, that lifts the President to-day above the malice of his enemies. His highest object is to serve the country that has honored him; his only ambition the desire to transmit to posterity the blessings of freedom, the peace and security which it has a right, through its sacrifices of blood and treasure, to demand for the humblest citizen of the land. As Jackson saw beyond the noisy rabble that clamored around him the unmistakable evidences of a public sentiment that approved his course, so President Grant sees beyond the Democratic crowd that pretends to reflect public opinion the sentiment of a nation in full harmony and perfect accord with the just and humane policy which forms the corner-stone of his Administration. Justice to all, equality before the law, protection to the humblest citizen at home and abroad, the integrity of the Union, encouragement to home industry and popular education, a sound currency, the removal of all foreign complications, the honest and economical expenditure of public money, are among the leading features of President Grant's Administration, on which the favorable judgment of posterity may well be invoked. It will stand in history as an Administration unrivaled in the amount of abuse heaped upon it, and for the positive good which it has accomplished.

We are too near the temple to do full justice to its grand proportions. We must stand beyond the line of partisanship, removed from the passions and prejudices of to-day, to appreciate its design and finish. A score of years hence the world will acknowledge what every true Republican believes to-day, that the Administration of President Grant stands second to none in our history. Tried as none have been tried before; with a powerful and unscrupulous party throwing obstacles in his path; with a disloyal element,

strong and influential, throughout the South; with a burdensome public debt to provide for; with the treachery of false friends within and the opposition of bitter enemies without, President Grant has triumphed, through his rare native sagacity, over all difficulties, and won for himself the respect of all true citizens. Abused as no President has ever been abused, he stands with closed lips, without complaint, conscious of his own rectitude, and relying on the people for support and vindication.

He needs no eulogy from us. The country has already pronounced it, and history will transmit it to posterity. He needs no vindication at our hands, for the silent majesty of his acts is a more eloquent vindication than human lips could utter, or pen indite. They will stand as long as the Republic lives to win the praise and admiration of mankind. His name and fame will grow brighter with advancing time, until the few faults of the man are wholly lost in the contemplation of his noble character and his great services in behalf of liberty and justice. That God will strengthen his arm, increase his wisdom, and broaden his shoulders to bear the burdens of his high office is the prayer of a nation that followed him in war, and still goes up in time of peace.

"EQUAL rights to all men" was the plausible cry of Democracy in 1872. It has changed its tune in 1875. Now it favors the disfranchisement of the colored man. The party in 1872 was rejected by the people because they believed it was dishonest in its sentiments. They had no faith in its professions. Its hostility to equal rights to-day proves the correctness of the popular judgment. It has gone back to its old love, or, rather, it never departed from it, intending to stay. "Equal rights to Democrats" is the inscription on its banners, North and South. If it had the power, and could do it, it would restore slavery to the nation, and tear down all the monuments reared by a grateful people to perpetuate the memory of the gallant dead. It is the natural enemy of liberty, to be watched, guarded at all times, and defeated whenever it attempts to regain the political power it lost by its treachery to the Republic.

THE ELECTION OF SALMON P. CHASE TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 22, 1849.

The extended biographies of the late Chief Justice, and the second volume of Henry Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," bring up with more or less distinctness the circumstances, never accurately given to the public, supposed to attend Mr. Chase's first election to the Senate. The first-named works are noticeable rather for their omission of the facts of that event, while Mr. Wilson seems to have been singularly misinformed as to nearly all of the details. His text unintentionally does grave injustice to many individuals too obscure, perhaps, to complain, while the facts themselves, resting in the journals of the Ohio House of Representatives, legislative speeches, newspaper articles of that day, original papers, and the memory of many living witnesses, are capable of being set forth in the clearest light—indeed, were never seriously questioned until the appearance of Mr. Wilson's work, which is not so much a contradiction as a misstatement of them.

For a proper appreciation of the conditions under which the election took place, it is necessary to recur to some events of earlier dates in the history of Ohio.

GERRYMANDERING.

In the winter of 1841-'42, the Democrats, having a small majority in each house of the Ohio General Assembly, attempted to pass a bill redistricting the State, under the then recent act of Congress apportioning Representatives in that body among the States. This bill undoubtedly was justly liable to severe criticism for its injustice to the Whig party. Its passage was defeated by the spontaneous and nearly unanimous resignation of the Whig members.

At the session of the Ohio General Assembly for 1847-'8, in which the Whigs had very small majorities in each House, a bill was pending for the quadrennial apportionment of Senators and Representatives in the State Legislature. Up to that time no party had proposed to divide a county in the formation

of legislative districts. Hamilton county, containing Cincinnati, entitled to five Representatives and two Senators, had always returned an entire Democratic delegation, although it had a very powerful Whig minority, mostly resident in the eight first wards of the city of Cincinnati. On this occasion the Whigs determined to make this minority available in the party warfare by carving out a Whig legislative district in Hamilton county; and the bill referred to had provisions giving the determination effect by the creation of a district containing this Whig element.

The district was an ugly looking little monster, though certainly not more hideous than some of the proposed Democratic Congressional districts. This scheme was opposed mainly for its alleged unconstitutionality. It, however, passed both houses, and the bill was pending in the Senate for concurrence in a trifling amendment of the House, when, to prevent its final passage, the Democratic Senators, in a body, seceded, and successfully resisted all coercive and persuasive inducements to return to their places. In this state of affairs, after several days, and when, of course, the bill, parliamentarily speaking, must have been in the Senate, where there could be no power to return it to the House, the latter body undertook by resolution to recede from its amendment, and declared the bill passed; when it was signed by the respective Speakers and proclaimed as a law.

These events were in the somewhat lurid days of high party strife in Ohio, and produced the greatest excitement in Democratic circles throughout Ohio and the Republic.

The absenting Senators returned, and the General Assembly worried through to a formal adjournment.

ANARCHY THREATENED.

On the 10th of May following a State Democratic convention, with unanimous vote and bitter heat, passed a series of resolutions declaring that the State was without a

law under which a Legislature could be elected, and calling upon the Governor to convene the Legislature in extra session to supply the defect. In default of which it was declared to be the duty of the Democratic voters to elect Senators and Representatives "under the Whig apportionment scheme, with a view to ulterior measures."

These measures were defined to be a refusal on the part of the Democratic members elect "to take upon themselves the obligations of Senators and Representatives under a fraudulent and nugatory enactment for their election." Thus the exercise of legislative power would become impossible, and it would devolve on the people "to frame a new Constitution, wherein their peculiar interests may be more effectively protected." And in the event that the Governor should fail to convene the Legislature, it would become necessary for the convention to reassemble on the first Monday of the ensuing December for necessary action. It also prudently provided a committee of safety, and wisely adjourned to reassemble on call.

Meantime General Taylor was nominated to the Presidency, when the fiery young anti-slavery Whigs of the Western Reserve revolted in a body, taking most of the elders with them, sent delegates to the Buffalo convention, and organized in support of Van Buren and Adams, but continued, as best they could, to support Seabury Ford, nominated by the Whig party, ere this revolt, for Governor. Having aided in his nomination, they felt in honor bound to sustain him, though, he was known to favor the regular nominee of the party for the Presidency.

FREE-SOILERS APPEAR.

At the ensuing State election three Free-soil Senators, Randall, Beaver, and Blake, all bolting Whigs, and eight members of the House, were elected; of these Van Doren was a Democrat, Townshend, of the Liberty party, Morse, Chaffee, McClure, Johnson, Lee, and Riddle, all Whigs; and all, except Townshend and Van Doren elected by the conjoint action of the Free-soilers and the remnant of Whigs. Townshend was the only one exclusively elected by Free-soilers, and Van Doren by them with Democratic aid.

In Hamilton county the Democrats in effect ignored its division into districts, and elected their Senators and Representatives by nearly their usual majority, while the Whigs carried their district by an overwhelming majority, but the clerk of the county, a Democrat, gave the certificates of election to all the Democrats.

The Governor of the State declined to act upon the advice of the 10th of May convention, nor did the patriotic members of that body formally reassemble at the Capitol on the 4th of December, though many of its choicest spirits were in attendance at the assembling of the Legislature on that day. As soon appeared, the Democratic Senators and Representatives elect had overcome their constitutional repugnance to the exercise of legislative functions, and evinced an undue ardor to enter upon them.

Under the existing State constitution the Legislature was the sole appointing power of the State. In addition to the election of Senators it also elected the entire judiciary, heads of executive departments, major generals, and State staff; and it devolved upon the present Legislature to elect a Senator and two of the three supreme, several subordinate judges, and many other officers.

The House of Representatives consisted of 72 members. Of these the Democrats claimed 35, the Whigs 31, and the Free-soilers 8, making an excess of 2. Beside the Hamilton county case, there were ten or twelve contested seats.

The Free-soilers at once, to the intense disgust of the Whigs, unanimously resolved upon a distinct organization and complete independent party action. They promptly, and with unanimity, nominated Joshua R. Giddings for the seat in the Senate about to become vacant upon the expiration of the term of Wm. Allen. The members of the House unanimously nominated Townshend for speaker, with candidates for the other offices, and with the same unanimity adopted a resolution that each member of the party should regard himself as bound by the action taken until personal notice to his associates in caucus.

DEMOCRATIC TACTICS.

The State-house and property had been

always regarded as in the custody and under the care of the Secretary of State, then a Whig, and who kept the key of the building. It had been the usage of the Legislature, without a remembered exception, to assemble in the respective halls of the two houses, at 10 o'clock in the morning of the constitutional day. At about 8 o'clock of this day, December 4, 1848, the Democratic members of the House made a forcible entry into the State-house, took possession of the hall of Representatives, swore in all their claimants of seats, and, although lacking two of a majority, proceeded to elect a speaker, clerk, and sergeant-at-arms, *pro tem.*, in the absence of and without the knowledge of the other members elect, save two or three accidentally present, and whose protests were disregarded. These gentlemen gave the alarm, rang the State-house bell, and the Whigs hurried to the hall, now filled with a noisy and excited rabble, quite beyond such control as the Democratic body exercised, where, amid the wildest excitement, they extemporized, with the aid of the clerk of the last House, an organization of their own. Amid the confusion and apprehension incident to these extraordinary proceedings, Townshend, Morse, and Van Doren, appeared in the Democratic body, were sworn and enrolled on their list, and McClure, Johnson, and Chaffee, were sworn and enrolled with the Whigs; while Lee and Riddle, representing a common district, were enrolled by both, holding them equally imperfect.

The three Free-soilers enrolled with the Democrats did not at all approve of their action, and at no time afterward voted to sustain them in it.

On the Friday following, after days of such confusion and alarm as could proceed only from the chronic collision of two embittered imperfect bodies contending for the mastery in the exciting presence of thousands of angry partisans of both, Riddle, under the unanimous instructions of the Free-soil members, brought forward their programme for the organization of the House. Being a member of both bodies he was recognized by both speakers, and enabled to bring forward and submit it with extended

remarks. It was in effect that Pugh, and Pearce the Democrat, and Spencer and Runyon, the Whig claimants of seats from Hamilton county, be excluded for the present; that all other members holding certificates hold seats, and proceed to a temporary organization of the House; that the speaker appoint a committee of privileges and elections; and that, save by common consent, or upon reception of an executive message, no business should be in order until cases of contest were adjudicated. This proposition was as promptly accepted by the Whigs as it was rejected by the Democrats. Finally, after three weeks of pitiful wrangle, during which the Democrats affected to remain in perpetual session, it was accepted in a modified form, the organization to be permanent, and the Committee of Privileges and Elections to be appointed by ballot, with an express understanding that the old parties should designate two members each, and the Free-soil party one of the five of which it was composed.

The exclusion of the Hamilton contestants reduced the House to 70 members, and left the Democrats in a minority of 33. Upon the election of speaker and other officers, the indistinct outline of a programme was first developed, the scope of which was to be only vaguely guessed at, nor were its aims and authors fully revealed for some weeks. Townshend, who had heartily co-operated with Riddle through the whole struggle for organization, was the Free-soil candidate for speaker, and had not withdrawn from that position, or intimated an intention to abandon his friends; yet, on the ballot for speaker, he, with Morse and Van Dorn, voted with the Democrats, and elected their candidate, Breslin. In return, the Democrats voted for Stanley Matthews, the Free-soil candidate for clerk, and were to have had the sergeant-at-arms, when Riddle managed to secure an adjournment; and upon the reassembling of the House the next morning seven Free-soilers finally voted with the Whigs for their candidate for sergeant-at-arms, and he was elected.

Pursuant to the arrangement, the gentlemen proposed by the Whigs and Democrats for the Committee of Privileges and Elections

were appointed. When the Free-soilers proposed their candidate, a Democrat nominated Townshend in opposition, and with the votes of that gentlemen, Morse and Van Dorn, he was elected.

Up to this time the Free-soilers, as the majority understood, were a unit upon the Hamilton county case, the sole source of all these legislative woes. It had been much discussed among them. The apportionment act was the sole law, and while they were unanimous that the division of Hamilton county was inexpedient, and the bill passed by unwarrantable means, they had no doubt of its accord with the Constitution. In this opinion Mr. Chase, who was then at the State capital, was understood explicitly to share.

Mr. Townshend, however, with commendable promptitude as chairman, made a majority report declaring the division of Hamilton county unconstitutional, and that Pugh and Pierce were duly elected; which was adopted in the House by a majority of one, Townshend, Morse, and Van Dorn for it.

It may be remarked that the ten or twelve other contested cases were so astutely disposed of as to hold the House so balanced that the chairman of that committee, with one other, acting with the Democrats, could control it on a full vote.

ELECTION OF SENATOR.

As time elapsed the senatorial and other elections approached; and the atmosphere was full of the rumors of a magnanimous and far-extending arrangement, embracing in its wide margin not only the offices referred to, but also certain legislation. This received confirmation by the discovery of certain correspondence between Mr. Chase and Dr. Bailey, then of the *New Era*, together with the terms of the arrangement, in the handwriting of the former, (said now to be in the possession of Hon. Joseph Geiger, of Ohio,) by which it was made to appear that there were but three reliable Free-soilers in the House, Townshend, Morse, and Van Dorn, (which corresponds with Mr. Wilson's enumeration of them,) and it was eminently proper that these should unite with the Democracy, as neither were able alone to elect senators and judges, or enact or repeal laws; and as these objects could be done by arrangement alone,

it was only fitting that terms should be stipulated, and a course of action laid down, which were very clearly set forth, to wit:

The Free-soilers (Townshend, Morse, and Van Dorn) should have the senator and the repeal of the "black laws" of the State; and the Democrats the two supreme judges and all the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, except in Free-soil circuits, with other minor provisions.

Wm. Allen was the Democratic nominee for re-election, and Thomas Ewing the candidate of the Whigs, as was Mr. Giddings of the Free-soilers. In the joint convention of the two Houses for the election of Senator, February 22, 1849, nearly one-half of the Democrats voted for Mr. Chase on the first ballot, as did Townshend, Morse and Van Dorn. On the fourth ballot Mr. Chase received 55 votes of the 106 cast, against 39 for Mr. Ewing, 11 for Mr. Giddings, and 1 for John C. Vaughan.

As stipulated, the Democrats on the same day secured the election of the two supreme judges, Spalding and Caldwell, and the rest of the programme was carried out.

It should be remarked that Mr. Chase said several times pending the senatorial contest that, if at any time the Whigs would come up to the support of Mr. Giddings, it was his wish that his immediate supporters, Townshend, Morse, and Van Doren, should unite with them, and elect him; and there can be no doubt of the perfect good faith of this declaration. Very great effort was made by Mr. Giddings' friends to secure this action, of which there was never at any time a reasonable hope.

It should also be mentioned that it was more than once proposed to Mr. Chase and his friends that, if the Free-soilers of the House would unanimously vote for Mr. Giddings until the hopelessness of his election was practically shown, (for the Whigs said that if they did vote for him he would not be elected, as Townshend and Morse would not vote for him,) the Free-soil supporters of Mr. Giddings would then nominate Mr. Chase as their candidate, which was declined.

It will be remembered that upon his election Mr. Chase gave the usual party banquet to the Democrats, and was claimed and as-

sumed to be a Democratic Senator until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

At the State election for 1850 he voted against his life-long friend, Samuel Lewis, the Free-soil candidate for Governor, and for Reuben Wood, the Pro-slavery Democratic candidate.

THE BLACK LAWS.

In justice to the people of the State of Ohio, it ought to be borne in mind that the most odious features of the legislative enactments known as the black laws had practically become obsolete years before their repeal; that the statute, the especial turpitude of which had imparted its color to the whole, had been long before repealed; that during this session of 1848-'9 neither party could or dared to oppose their expurgation, and did not; that the "Bill for the establishment of colored schools, and for other purposes," which expunged them from the statute book, passed the House by a vote of 52 to 10. The negatives were made up of Whigs and Democrats in about equal proportions. The bill passed the House January 30, and promptly passed the Senate by near unanimity, no party opposing it. In that body it received two amendments, one exempting colored men from juries, and the other excluding them from the benefit of the poor laws. As the best then attainable the Free-soilers of the House took the bill with these, and it became a law February 6. So that even by coalition the Democrats could not be brought to elevate the negro to the dignity of a pauper.

The bill could have passed both houses in the face of the vote of every Democrat in the Legislature against it. The statement that any arrangement was necessary to secure this action, or that there could be the least merit in accomplishing it, under the pretense of an arrangement, is a very grave historical error. It was never anything but a pretense to cover the senatorial election, which sought sanctuary in it.

A few days after the senatorial election one of the Free-soil members of the House, in a speech which had a wide circulation, emphasized the facts contained in this paper, with many other details. He was replied to

by both Townshend and Morse, who only attempted to justify them. Neither gentleman denied any of his statements.

MR. CHASE.

Whatever may be said of the morality or the expediency of the course pursued under the known circumstances surrounding him, no doubt can exist of its effect upon Mr. Chase and his career.

It lost to him at once and forever the confidence of every Whig of middle age in Ohio. Its shadow never wholly dispelled, always fell upon him, and hovered near and darkened his pathway at the critical places in his political after life.

This, however, should always be remembered in any estimate of his character. He was never a partisan, was never a party man. He had certain great and usually high purposes to accomplish, and he allied himself for the time with any party or set of men whom he thought most likely to aid him effectively; and when he found that they failed him, or would not advance his views, he at once turned to others. Parties were his implements, to be taken up or laid down with comparative facility and indifference.

He never betrayed a party, never abandoned a party in the ordinary sense. A party that could not be useful had necessarily no hold upon him. He was of the supreme ambition, and it was in great part an ambition born of a consciousness of great power to serve. Unquestionably, he himself believed that his desire for the highest political place arose out of this conscious power, and a wish to wield its opportunities for a higher, better and purer administration of the Government than the Republic has enjoyed since the days of its founders.

In the election for President in 1876 the thirty-seven States of the Union will choose 366 electors. Those States in which slavery lately existed will choose 138 of them. The New England States, together with New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, will choose 113, and the twelve States lying west of the Ohio, in which slavery did not exist, will choose the remaining 115.

REBELLIONS—"SHAYS" AND ANTI-RENT—1786 AND 1839.

The first symptoms of any outbreak in Massachusetts resulting from the financial burdens of the Revolution appeared in 1782. Insurrections, caused by the action of Congress to meet the public liabilities, arose during this year in Hampshire county. The courts were menaced, the collection of taxes retarded, bodies of armed men appeared against the legal authorities, and collisions took place, resulting in a few wounds on each side. The State forces finally subdued the rioters. This was the beginning of the Shays Rebellion, which broke out four years afterward.

The distress growing out of the enforcement of Federal and State taxes, not inconsiderable, was magnified by malcontents and Tories throughout the western part of the State. The collection of private debts was another source of discontent. The Legislature, by "Tender Acts" and other pacific measures, sought to alleviate the troubles. Nevertheless a formidable revolt was organized, and seemed to gain strength under the humane but ill-judged action of the State government.

Disagreement between the Senate and House, as to measures to prevent or suppress the threatened rebellion, only added fuel to the flame. Congress voted that an armed force should be raised by other States to assist Massachusetts. This was before the formation of the Constitution, and before Washington had been chosen President. There was therefore but a weak Executive to meet the crisis. In November, 1786, the rioters collected an armed force and broke up the court in Worcester. Similar acts of violence succeeded elsewhere, especially at Springfield, where the notorious Shays was the leading spirit. The Governor called out 4,400 troops under General Lincoln. In the meantime Shays had attacked the forces defending the arsenal at Springfield, but was repulsed with a loss of three killed and one wounded. Retreating to Petersham, Lincoln came up with Shays, surprising and dispersing the insurgents, and capturing 150 of

them as prisoners. This broke the *organized* rebellion. Shays, however, formed marauding parties for guerrilla warfare.

A vigorous policy now took possession of the Legislature. A remarkable document was received from Shays, being a formal proposition for an armistice, by which all persons were to be liberated and a pardon extended to all offenders, upon which the insurgents would lay down their arms and disperse. In the meantime they proposed to remain under arms and in open defiance of the authorities.

The Senate, under lead of Sam Adams, made short work with this paper, and all compromise was rejected. The House, which had some friends of the rebels in it, concurred with the Senate. The Legislature now appealed to Congress, after strong opposition in the House, for aid, in case the rebellion again assumed formidable proportions.

A free pardon was offered to the offenders, with several exceptions, if they would lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance. The exceptions included Shays, of course. The next important business was the trial of the prominent insurgents. Fourteen were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death. Now came a desperate struggle between justice and mercy. The date of execution was postponed by Gov. Bowdoin from time to time until his own term of office had expired.

At the next election parties divided between those who favored condign punishment and those who were friendly to the condemned rebels. Hancock represented the latter and Bowdoin the former. This was the main issue between these two candidates for Governor. The sentiment of mercy was all-powerful, and Hancock was elected. Brave Sam Adams was defeated for Lieutenant Governor, but was chosen Senator from Suffolk county.

At the numerous meetings of Governor Hancock's council, the subject most discussed was the fate of the condemned leaders.

The advocates of clemency prevailed, and

Governor Hancock finally pardoned the prisoners.*

Sam Adams, although a humane man, resisted to the last, against public opinion, which all the time inclined to leniency. He maintained that "the man who dares to rebel against the laws of a *Republic* ought to suffer death." Had he been Governor every one of the condemned would have suffered death.†

THE "ANTI-RENT WAR."

The Dutch Government, at an early day, granted to the Van Rensselaer family a tract of land fifty miles square, lying on both sides of the Hudson river, and embracing the present cities of Albany and Troy. This land was farmed out to settlers by Van Rensselaer on perpetual leases, the rent being payable annually in kind, so many bushels of wheat, so many chickens, &c. Stephen Van Rensselaer, (called the Patroon,) who died in 1839, was a lenient landlord, and allowed the rents to accumulate, or accepted what the tenants chose to give him. This tract of land, it must be remembered, included a dozen towns, and among the tenants were clergymen, lawyers, physicians, justices of the peace, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, members of the Legislature, and perhaps members of Congress. When the heirs of the late Patroon came into possession they proceeded to rigidly collect the rents due and in arrears. It was then that the tenants, quite unanimously, rose in rebellion, disputing the Van Rensselaer title.

When the sheriff attempted to serve his writs he was met with forcible resistance. Refusing to tamper with such violent proceedings, the Governor (Seward) issued his proclamation calling upon the people in rebellion to reflect upon the consequences of their unlawful acts. At the same time he tendered to the sheriff a sufficient military force to enable him to serve his process. The sheriff, with a civil *posse* of seven hundred men, had already made several unsuc-

cessful attempts to do his duty. On the 9th of December, 1839, the military began to assemble in Albany. Amid a snow storm of great severity they began their march, 600 strong, toward the region of resistance. At Reidsville, some twenty miles from Albany, they encountered a mob of anti-renters, estimated at 2,000 in number. It was now night, and the soldiers were prevented from occupying even a barn for shelter, although no other resistance was then offered. The sheriff, however, was satisfied that his force was too small to enable him to seize property or persons.

Informing the Governor of the facts, a further installment of soldiers was sent to the sheriff's assistance, while detachments of the military of adjoining counties were notified to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. The sheriff now had a force consisting of the uniformed corps of the cities of Albany and Troy. Among these were the celebrated Albany Burgesses corps, who have twice assisted at the inauguration of the President in Washington, and the Troy citizens corps, composed of the finest young men of the two cities. The "anti-renters" were now completely overawed, and sullenly permitted the sheriff to serve all the process he had in his hands.

The military returned to their homes without the loss of a life on either side. The "anti-renters" during the struggle mustered about 1,500 men, 600 of whom were on horseback. The military did not exceed 1,000, with no cavalry. In this rebellion, while the law was on the side of the Patroon, the "anti-renters" had the sympathies of the people.

A CONFEDERATE soldier recently wrote to the Second Auditor for blanks for pension and bounty, stating in his letter that he had heard that Congress had passed a law putting Confederate soldiers on the same footing in regard to bounty and pension as those who served in the Union army.

It is possible that with Democracy in power this little olive branch might be extended as a peace offering to the South, but as this is not likely to happen during the next twenty years our Confederate friend had better save his postage stamps for a better purpose.

*Shays sought safety for a year or two in Vermont. He then removed to Sparta, N. Y., where he died in 1825, aged 85 years. He received a pension from the United States Government to the day of his death for services in the Revolutionary war.

†See Life of Samuel Adams, by Wells, Vol. III.

HOW THE DEMOCRACY CHANGED A RULE.

In 1838, one William Slade, of Vermont, introduced into the House of Representatives a fire-brand, in the shape of a motion to refer a number of petitions against slavery to a select committee with instructions to report a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This motion was like dropping a lighted match into a keg of powder. The House at that time was strongly pro-slavery, and Slade was met with a storm of indignation. But he was a bold man, knew his rights, and could not be choked off by the demonstrations made against him. In vain the members from the South stormed at, threatened, and coaxed the gentleman from Vermont. In vain they asked him to give way for a motion to adjourn. He would not be moved, but went on discussing the question with as much freedom as if he led a powerful majority instead of a helpless minority. If he departed in the least from the question before the House he was called to order; if he touched on slavery in the States he was rapped to order by the speaker's gavel; if he read from the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States he was at once proclaimed out of order; if he touched on English law he was declared out of order; in fact, few members of the House have ever been called to face the same unfriendly spirit shown to Mr. Slade. But he had the spirit of a freeman, and faced the storm with a calmness as provoking to his enemies as it was galling to their pride.

At last, James J. McKay, of North Carolina, hit upon an expedient to close the mouth of the bold anti-slavery advocate. There was a rule of the House, grown musty with age and remembered by few, that when a member was called to order he should take his seat; and, if decided to be out of order, he should not be allowed to speak again, except on leave of the House. With this nice point of parliamentary law, McKay arose and said:

"MR. SPEAKER: The gentleman has been pronounced out of order in discussing

slavery in the States; and the rule declares that when a member has been so pronounced by the chair he shall take his seat, and if any one objects to his proceeding he shall not do so unless by leave of the House. Now, sir, I object to the gentleman from Vermont proceeding any further."

This was an unexpected shot to the brave Slade. He tried to proceed, but the Speaker's hammer and the excited shouts from the Southern members drowned his voice, and forced him to take his seat. The Speaker read the rule, said it was the first time it had ever been called into practice, and ruled that the member from Vermont could not proceed without the consent of the House. This was asked, but, before a vote could be taken, the House adjourned—this adjournment being a polite notice to Mr. Slade and his friends that no discussion on the question of slavery would be tolerated by the House.

Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, stood upon a chair, and invited all members from slave-holding States to attend a meeting then being held in the District committee-room.

There was a rush to this room; the gathering was an exciting one. Slade's fire-brand had touched the heart and inflamed the passions of the South.

Rhett, of South Carolina, denounced the effort as the beginning of a crusade on Southern institutions. He favored the dissolution of the Union, and for this purpose wished the appointment of a committee of two from each State to report upon the best means to secure its peaceful dissolution. But the wiser counsels prevailed. The evil required a remedy, but not the breaking up of the Union. The remedy was found in the changing of the rules of the House, so that in the future all abolition petitions could be quietly disposed of by a standing rule of the House.

This had already been adopted by the Senate with good results to the slave-holding interests.

Mr. Patton, of Virginia, was delegated to

offer the resolution, and on the following day presented it for adoption. It read:

"*Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, and papers touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves in any State, District, or Territory of the United States, be laid on the table, without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action shall be had thereon."

This was adopted by a vote of 135 yeas to 60 nays. Senator Benton, in referring to this vote in his "Thirty Years' View," says:

"This was one of the most important votes ever delivered in the House. Upon its issue depended the quiet of the House on the one hand, or, on the other, the renewal and perpetuation of the scenes of the day before—ending in breaking up all deliberation and all national legislation."

There is no doubt but this change of the rule was as popular among the Democrats in Benton's time as the recent change of the House rules is unpopular among the Democrats of to-day. But the justice involved in the two changes is not to be compared. Then Democracy struck down the right of petition. It did not say to the anti-slavery minority, "you shall not waste the time of the House by lengthy discussions on the subject of slavery," but it said, "you shall not discuss it at all." It made the discussion impossible by shutting out the subject altogether. It was an outrage on the rights of the minority; it was an insult to the people in their sovereign capacity. How different the recent change of the rules of the House! By the abuse of a rule the Democrats had kept the House in session forty-six hours. Unless the rule was changed a minority of one-third could keep the majority from transacting any business other than calling the roll of names on the motion to adjourn. Self-protection demanded that the rules should be so amended as to make this filibustering impossible, and yet give to every member his rights. This change was made, and the result of the change has proven its wisdom. But the change has been so loudly denounced on the floor of the House and elsewhere by Democrats, as an invasion of time-honored rights, that we commend to their attention the change made by their political friends in 1838. When a Republican House denies to the Democrats the right to introduce a peti-

tion and have it referred or discussed, then it will be time enough to talk about the invasion of the rights of the minority. But a simple change of rules which prevents a third from controlling the actions of two-thirds cannot be very oppressive to even a Democratic minority.

RHODE ISLAND.—From the message of Governor Howard we learn that the State debt of Rhode Island amounts to \$2,563,500, and there are \$600,000 in the treasury. The State bonds are held at a price above par, and the Governor has exercised the discretion given him by the General Assembly, in not purchasing. The expenditures for public schools have been \$690,857 53, and the receipts from State and town appropriations, and other sources, \$745,769 60. The estimated number of children in the State in 1873, between the ages of five and fifteen years, was 43,800; estimated average number belonging to the public schools, 39,401; average attendance, 24,434. The increase in the amount paid teachers over the previous year is, in round numbers, \$37,000. The increase in the number of teachers is 47. The State prison has been well and economically managed, giving a slight return above expenses. The State Farm is likely to require immediate further expenditure. The inland fisheries, a State census, and a scientific survey of the State are urged upon the attention of the Legislature.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was denounced as an enemy to liberty, seeking to perpetuate his power by acts of despotism. Jefferson was denounced as a public enemy, using his high office to corrupt the public morals and to satisfy his personal ambition for greater power. Jackson was exhibited to the world as a monster of vice—a second Cæsar, trying to enslave his countrymen; a tyrant; an usurper; and language was ransacked to find epithets severe enough to describe his character. President Grant proves no exception to this rule of abuse. His splendid services to his country are not sufficient to shield him from the poisoned arrows of envy and malice. But he will outlive his traducers, and transmit to posterity a name and fame second to none in our history.

LETTER FROM VICE PRESIDENT WILSON—THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

The following letter, containing a candid expression of the views of the Vice President of the United States on the political situation, was published in the Springfield, Mass., *Republican* of the 19th January. It will repay a careful and thoughtful perusal:

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1875.

My Dear Mr. Bowles:

I find in your journal a statement that I agree with you that the Republican party is dead. I beg leave to say that I do not agree with the *Republican*, or with any man or any set of men in the opinion that it is dead or hopelessly defeated. On the contrary I believe that the Republican party has it in its power to recover what it has lost, and to elect the next President. In saying this I am not unmindful of the grave questions at issue, and which are pressing for solution; of the disasters that have fallen upon it, nor of the hopes, expectations, and strength of the Democratic party—a party whose strength and power I have never underrated. I believe it can recover all it has lost; win back its former prestige and still retain its power in the Government. And I believe this because I believe it to be a necessity of the country. The grand work of liberty and patriotism it has performed imperatively demands that it should continue to guide the policy of the nation. Liberty, law, order, protection, and civilization, cannot afford to have it permanently defeated.

I saw quite as early as any one the perils of the Republican party, and more than thirteen months since I warned my political friends of the danger of losing the next House of Representatives. The party has made mistakes, and is now paying the penalty of these mistakes; but its ideas, principles, and general policies have not been condemned. It has been taught by recent disasters that it is mortal, and if it is wise it will heed those lessons. It would seem that neither selfishness nor stupidity could fail to understand them, or could misinterpret their import. If the Republican party now dies it will die by the hand of the suicide, for there is no arm other than its own potent enough to strike it down. It cannot, I think, hope to recover its lost prestige and power by a policy of rewards and punishments, or by party discipline. There are hundreds of thousands in the Republican party to-day who spurned the bribes and frowns of power, and left the Whig and Democratic parties for the sake of principles deemed by them

important and sacred. These men cannot be seduced by the blandishments of power, nor greatly moved by threats of discipline. Mere politicians, who think they can govern by the whip of party discipline, will find that they cannot thus reach or control the thoughtful and independent men who struck the lash from the hands of the slave masters; nor can we recover what is lost in Massachusetts, or in the country, by the impertinent intermeddling of office-holders in nominations and elections. Office-holders should learn from the recent elections that they can serve the Republican party best by performing their official duties with scrupulous fidelity. The people should be left free to arrange, in their own way and without official interference, their primary meetings and elections, for, rightfully or wrongfully, they have been compelled to believe that there are those holding office in Massachusetts, in the country, and especially at the South—some of them in important positions—who do not fitly represent the desires and wishes of their localities, and who have not the public confidence. The party burdened by such is not likely to be led to victory by their obtrusive interference, either in Massachusetts or in the country, North or South.

The disastrous division in the Republican party in 1872 was to me a distressing event. It seemed to me to be the unnecessary separation of comrades who had toiled together for so many years for noble purposes and a glorious cause. I did all I could by remonstrance and appeal to prevent it, and have since sought to reunite what was then so disastrously and unnecessarily broken, and I now would throw the doors wide open for the return of those who voted for Mr. Greeley in 1872, and earnestly invite them to reunite again with their old associates. Indeed, at any moment since that election, I would have pursued a generous and magnanimous policy toward the men who then left us, and now, without the loss of a single hour, I would, in all sincerity, extend the hand of reconciliation. I would appeal to you, sir, and your associates of the press in that unfortunate division, to unite with the great party which, with all its errors, faults, and mistakes, has made a glorious record for the country, freedom, and progress. I do not ask you to refrain from criticism, nor to leave unnoticed its mistakes, for a party that cannot tolerate that is already in its decadence.

There has been and now is a class of men in the South, Douglas Democrats and old line National Whigs, who were dragged into

the rebellion, but who have very little sympathy with the Democratic party. I have believed and now believe that these men should be invited to co-operate with the Republican party and share in its responsibilities and honors. I believe that peace in the South, the blotting out of divisions on the line of race, the advancement of real reconstruction, permanent Southern prosperity and the success of the Republican party, demand that all honorable efforts should be made to withdraw such men from association with those who led them into the rebellion, brought such fearful and indescribable ruin upon them, and who still adhere to the "lost cause." It seems to me that Republicans everywhere, in office and out of office, should subordinate all personal desires, aspirations, and ambitions, sacrifice their interests if need be, rally again for the party, invite everybody, crowd its ranks and bring to the front to the important positions of the Government all the experience, ability, and character they can command.

A broad, wise, and magnanimous policy should be promptly inaugurated, and steadily and honestly pursued. When the country already sees, as it will see, the only alternative presented, the real issues involved, the policies and men to be supported, their records in the past and their present affiliations, who and what shall prevail if the Republican party be set aside; when the country sees where the loyal men of the land are found, and where they stand, who believe in the perfect equality of the races, and who, come victory or defeat, life or death, mean to maintain in its completeness the equal rights of American citizens of every race, nationality, and faith, then will the Republican masses rally again, achieve new victories, and give the party a new lease of power. Truly yours,

HENRY WILSON.

FENTON AND SCHURZ.—The disaffection of Reuben E. Fenton from the Republican party made possible a Democratic victory in the State of New York. Instead of rewarding the Senator by returning him to the United States Senate, the Democrats quietly threw him overboard, and send in his place a gentleman whose political record is sound on the secession doctrines of Democracy. This fully illustrates the conservatism of modern Democracy. It gladly welcomes all those who desert the Republican party, but is careful not to intrust them with place or power.

Carl Schurz, after reaching the highest position within the gift of the Republican

party, turned his back upon it, and joined hands with the Democrats of his State. It may be too much to say that his disaffection lost the State to the Republicans, but we are safe in claiming that it had a powerful effect in delivering it into the hands of Democracy. He finds his reward in the five votes which were cast in favor of his return to the Senate. These votes represent the strength of his following among the Democrats who have come into power through his political treachery. The party has no further use for him, and thus cast him aside without the empty honors of even a complimentary vote. The fate of Fenton and Schurz has been the fate of the unfaithful through all ages. Parties may stand ready to accept their services, but rarely their leadership. They are distrusted, ignored, neglected, and finally thrown aside altogether.

WHEN the humblest citizen in the land has his right of citizenship respected everywhere; when a man can express his opinions, and vote as he pleases in the South as well as in the North; when the disloyal element of the South gives place to returning loyalty; when to love the Union and sustain those who believe in its perpetuity is no longer a crime; when peace and prosperity take the place of strife and misfortune, and the last shadow of the dead confederacy passes from the regenerated Republic; then it will be time enough to claim that the mission of the Republican party is ended and its mighty task completed. But this work has not been finished. The foundations have been laid, but the temple itself has not been completed. When the last stone is laid, the builder can look for rest. When freedom becomes the acknowledged birthright of all, the party that fought for justice may rest from its labors.

THE true sailor clings to the old ship in the hour of danger, for he has faith in her timbers and knows she will outlive the tempest that beats upon her. The true patriot clings with a like faith to the grand old party of freedom that has stood watch over the nation's liberties through perils by sea and land. To desert the Republican party because it has met with a single reverse would be as unpardonable as the abandonment of a noble ship because it had lost a sail in a gale of wind. The old loyal craft is as staunch as ever. It has buffeted rougher seas than now cross its track. A little more courage and skill on the part of officers and crew will bring it safely through the storm of passion that now rages around.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

The President of the United States issued a proclamation on the 17th February, calling an extra or special session of the United States Senate, to convene on the 5th March, at 12 o'clock noon, for the transaction of executive business. The following is the

NEW SENATE.

[Republicans in Roman; Democrats in Italic.]

Term ends.	Term ends.
ALABAMA.	MISSOURI.
1877. <i>Geo. Goldthwaite</i>	1879. <i>Lewis V. Bogy</i>
1879. <i>G. O. E. Spencer.</i>	1881. <i>Franis M. Cockrell</i>
ARKANSAS.	NEBRASKA.
1877. <i>Powell Clayton</i>	1877. <i>P. W. Hitchcock.</i>
1879. <i>Stephen W. Dooley.</i>	1881. <i>Algermon S. Packard.</i>
CALIFORNIA.	NEVADA.
1879. <i>Arthur A. Sargent.</i>	1879. <i>John P. Jones.</i>
1881. <i>Newton Booth.</i>	1881. <i>William Sharpe.</i>
CONNECTICUT.	NEW HAMPSHIRE.
1879. <i>Chas. S. Ferry.</i>	1877. <i>A. H. Cragin.</i>
1881. <i>William W. Eaton.</i>	1879. <i>B. Wadleigh.</i>
DEL. WARE.	NEW JERSEY.
1877. <i>Eli Sausbury.</i>	1877. <i>F. T. Frelinghuysen.</i>
1881. <i>Thos. F. Bayard.</i>	1881. <i>T. F. Randolph.</i>
FLORIDA.	NEW YORK.
1879. <i>Simon B. Conover.</i>	1879. <i>Roscoe Conkling.</i>
1881. <i>Charles W. Jones.</i>	1881. <i>Francis Kernan.</i>
GEORGIA.	NORTH CAROLINA.
1877. <i>Thos. M. Norwood.</i>	1877. <i>M. W. Ransom.</i>
1879. <i>John B. Gordon.</i>	1879. <i>A. S. Merrimon.</i>
ILLINOIS.	OHIO.
1877. <i>John A. Logan.</i>	1879. <i>John Sherman.</i>
1879. <i>R. J. Oglesby.</i>	1881. <i>A. G. Thurman.</i>
INDIANA.	OREGON.
1879. <i>Oliver P. Morton.</i>	1877. <i>James K. Kelly.</i>
1881. <i>J. E. McDonald.</i>	1879. <i>J. H. Mitchell.</i>
IOWA.	PENNSYLVANIA.
1877. <i>Geo. G. Wright.</i>	1879. <i>Simon Cameron.</i>
1879. <i>W. B. Allison.</i>	1881. <i>W. A. Wallace.</i>
KANSAS.	RHODE ISLAND.
1879. <i>John J. Ingalls.</i>	1877. <i>H. D. Anthony.</i>
KENTUCKY.	1881. <i>A. E. Burdette.</i>
1877. <i>J. W. Stevenson.</i>	SOUTH CAROLINA.
1879. <i>T. C. McCreery.</i>	1877. <i>T. J. Robertson.</i>
LOUISIANA.	1879. <i>J. J. Patterson.</i>
1877. <i>J. Rodman West.</i>	TENNESSEE.
1879. <i>A. Venable.</i>	1877. <i>Henry Cooper.</i>
MAINE.	1881. <i>Andrew Johnson.</i>
1879. <i>Lot M. Morrill.</i>	TEXAS.
1881. <i>Hannibal Hamlin.</i>	1877. <i>M. C. Hamilton.</i>
MARYLAND.	1881. <i>Samuel B. Mazey.</i>
1879. <i>George R. Dennis.</i>	VERMONT.
1881. <i>W. P. Whyte.</i>	1879. <i>Justin S. Morrill.</i>
MASSACHUSETTS.	1881. <i>G. F. Edmunds.</i>
1877. <i>Geo. S. Boutwell.</i>	VIRGINIA.
1881. <i>Henry L. Dawes.</i>	1877. <i>J. W. Johnston.</i>
MICHIGAN.	1881. <i>R. E. Withers.</i>
1877. <i>Thos. W. Ferry.</i>	WEST VIRGINIA.
1881. <i>I. P. Christiancy.</i>	1877. <i>Henry G. Davis.</i>
MINNESOTA.	1881. <i>A. T. Caperton.</i>
1877. <i>W. Windom.</i>	WISCONSIN.
1881. <i>S. J. R. McMillan.</i>	1877. <i>T. O. Howe.</i>
MISSISSIPPI.	1881. <i>Angus Cameron.</i>
1877. <i>James L. Alcorn.</i>	
1881. <i>Blanch K. Bruce.</i>	

In accordance with the proclamation of President Grant, the new Senate met in special session on the 5th of March.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

THE VIRGINIUS MATTER.

Recent advices received from Minister Cushing by the State Department confirm the statement that an amicable conclusion of the differences between the United States and the Spanish Government on the Virginius matter had been reached. All that is necessary to complete the treaty is the receipt by Mr. Cushing of his credentials accrediting him to the new Spanish Government, which are now on their way. When they reach him he will at once sign it on the part of the United States, and it will be forwarded to the State Department. It is expected that the project will be laid before the Senate during the first week of the special session for ratification.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

The receipts from customs revenue on Saturday, March 27, the last business day of the month, were \$743,629 49. The receipts from internal revenue were \$746,068 84. Total for the month, \$12,606,841 82; for the fiscal year to date, \$74,501,966 62. Fractional currency received from the printers for the week, \$576,100. Shipments of legal tenders, \$2,506,856. Amount of bonds held by the Treasurer as security for national bank circulation, \$382,083,650; for public deposits, \$16,062,200. Outstanding national bank circulation, \$344,596,472. National bank notes received for redemption during the week, \$3,366,322.

The following is an official statement of the United States currency outstanding at the above date: Old demand notes, \$72,147 50; legal-tender notes, series 1874, \$28,747,619; legal-tender notes, new issue, \$44,050,798; legal-tender notes, series of 1869, \$309,201,583; one-year notes of 1863, \$70,545; two-year notes of 1863, \$21,850; two-year coupon notes of 1863, \$29,600; compound-interest notes, \$396,570; fractional currency, first issue, \$4,335,748 73; do., second issue, \$3,246,095 80; do., third issue, \$3,213,482 58; fourth issue, first series, \$8,798,841 86; do.,

second series, \$2,506,208; do., third series, \$10,570,750 50; fifth issue, \$12,333,786 15; total, \$427,495,676 12.

CIRCULAR IN RELATION TO SILVER BULLION AND COINS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT,
WASHINGTON, *February 18, 1875.*

The provision contained in the coinage act of 1871 that silver coins of the denominations of half and quarter dollars and dimes be paid at the mint in Philadelphia and the assay office in New York city for silver bullion purchased for such coinage expired by limitation on the 13th instant. Such coins will not, therefore, be issued hereafter in payment for silver bullion deposited or purchased at the several mints or the assay office in New York, but will be exchanged for gold coins at par in sums of not less than one hundred dollars. Silver bullion may be deposited as heretofore for bars or trade dollars. Silver bullion separated from gold deposits will be paid for in gold coin at such valuation as may be established from time to time by the director of the mint. For the present, and until further notice, such silver will be paid for at the rate of one dollar and twelve and one-half cents (\$1 12½) per standard ounce. Silver coins, other than the trade dollar, are manufactured on account of the Government only, and the silver bullion required for that purpose will be purchased, when needed, by the superintendents of the mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Carson City, and the assay office at New York, with the approval of the director as to price, terms, and quantity.

H. R. LINDERMAN,
Director of the Mint.

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The reduction of the public debt in February amounted to \$6,680,183 12. This is a very gratifying exhibit for a short mid-winter month.

CALL FOR FIVE-TWENTY BONDS.

On the first day of March, the Secretary of the Treasury issued a call for \$5,000,000 five-twenty bonds, all of which are coupon bonds, as follows: \$50, Nos. 8,351 to 10,000; \$100, Nos. 23,101 to 27,500; \$500, Nos. 11,101

to 13,600; \$1,000, Nos. 33,701 to 39,000. The interest on these bonds will cease June 1, 1875.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

THE PANAMA SURVEYING EXPEDITION.

The following letter has been received at the Navy Department:

ASPINWALL, U. S. OF COLOMBIA,
February 13, 1875.

SIR: I have the honor to inform the Department that the work of the Panama surveying expedition is progressing very favorably, and present indications are much better than I had hoped at first. Party No. 1, under Lieutenant Leutze, is locating the feeder for the canal. They having already reached the desired elevation, find abundance of water, and are now making the special survey of the dam. Party No. 2, under Lieutenant Colby, is at work locating the proposed line across the summit. The health of the expedition is good.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

EDWARD P. LULL,
Commander.

HON. GEO. M. ROBESON, *Secretary of the Navy,*
Washington, D. C.

CARL SCHURZ should remember that a fair exchange is no robbery. There is so little difference between an ex-Confederate and the rejected Senator from Missouri that we might as well have one as the other. The new Senator tried to betray his country, and goes in the Senate; the old one tried to betray his party, and goes out of it. It is only a question of reward after all.

THERE is no mistaking the sentiments of President Grant. He is thoroughly honest and earnest in his words and acts. He desires to secure peace and harmony in every State in the Union, and to that end he is determined to put down lawlessness, come in what form it may. Justice has been the guiding star of his life. He never broke faith with a friend, or persecuted an enemy. Trusted leaders have turned their backs on the party of freedom, but Grant stands firm. His face is to the foe, and if we do not mistake the signs of the times, the Democracy will find him as skillful in politics as he was in war. The conquerer of Lee is not yet ready to surrender the Republican party to Fernando Wood and the Democratic rabble at his heels.

OUR TRADE WITH CUBA.—Some statistics of the trade between Cuba and the Atlantic seaports of the United States may explain why there are a vast number of people in this country who feel a very lively interest in the political affairs of the island, and anticipate its future with deep concern. The figures are for the year 1874, and have just been made up at Havana. During the year we bought from Cuba sugars, tobacco, and other articles of export to the value of eighty-five millions of dollars, for which we paid mostly in American gold. From Havana alone the exports to this country were of the value of twenty millions of dollars, of which twelve millions were in sugar, and nearly all the remainder in tobacco. But, while we sent this huge sum of money to Cuba, she purchased from the United States only fifteen million dollars' worth of goods and products of all kinds, leaving a balance of trade against us of seventy millions. So long as the present anarchy and misrule continue on the island there is no prospect of our side of the ledger showing any better account, and for that reason it would be a fortunate day for us when any turn of the wheel would restore peace to Cuba, no matter under what political auspices, and open up a market for the manufactured articles which a busy and industrious population would need and have. As the situation now stands, the United States is the best customer Cuba has, and it is American gold which is very largely paying for the maintenance of a Government which Americans detest, and contributing to the support of a war which it would be to our eventual interest to have brought to a speedy termination.

A GOOD LETTER.

ELKO, NEVADA, February 21, 1875.

REPUBLIC PUBLISHING CO., Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I herewith send you money order for thirty dollars, being for accompanying list of subscribers to the REPUBLIC for 1875. Be sure and commence our subscription with the January number. I will endeavor to increase the number, as I deem your magazine worthy of public confidence and support.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

The above is from a gentleman who has read THE REPUBLIC from its commencement and is therefore qualified to judge of its value. Will not others of our subscribers send us similar favors? A very little effort would enable them to follow this excellent example and materially aid the cause of good government for which we are working.

THE REPUBLIC.—This staunch and excellent friend of the Republican party commences the year with the same unflinching regard for truth and right which has characterized its course throughout. Published at the national capital, it presents a faithful reflex of Republican sentiment and work throughout the land. Its articles are characterized by sound sense and reason, and in all respects it fills a place in the political literature of the country which could not well be dispensed with. Among the notable articles in the January number may be mentioned "Crime in the South; Its Cause and Remedy;" "The Despot of To-day," from *Old and New*; "The New Finance Bill," "Our Internal Commerce," "Practical Art Education for Mechanics," "Louisiana—the Exigencies of the Hour." Besides these articles, which are well digested and full of facts, we have the President's message and accompanying documents, executive and Department doings, and all information relating to the interests of the party, the workings of the Government, and the state of public feeling throughout the country. The magazine is published by the Republic Publishing Company, Washington, D. C.—*Daily Inter-Ocean*, Chicago, Feb. 8, 1875.

We copy the above notice of THE REPUBLIC for several reasons. The first is that it gives evidence of the public appreciation of our labors. In the next place it affords us an opportunity to say that we have from its commencement held the *Inter-Ocean* to be a reliable exponent of the principles of Republicanism, and of the policy and efforts of the Republican party. In its varied departments it is probably the most vigorous daily issue in the country.

In this connection we are reminded of our obligations to the newspaper press generally for their words of approval of our labors to make THE REPUBLIC magazine what it claims to be, a true exponent of republican government, principles, and institutions. We appreciate their generous words of encouragement.

And here permit the proprietors of THE REPUBLIC to express a word of thanks to those whose support has come in the way of subscriptions to the magazine. Without special efforts THE REPUBLIC has worked its way into favor, and its circulation is steadily increasing by new subscriptions from nearly every section of the Union. We shall labor to merit more and more this tangible appreciation of our efforts.